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* * * *Table of Contents* * * *

VOLUME LXXIV, NUMBER 5

JUNE 1969

Articles

JOHANNES VON MÜLLER: THE HISTORIAN IN SEARCH OF A HERO, by Gordon A. Craig	1487
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CORTES OF LEÓN-CASTILE, by Joseph F. O'Callaghan	1503
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CANVASSING: YORKSHIRE ELECTIONS BEFORE THE REFORM BILL, by Robert Worthington Smith	1538
ECONOMIC HISTORY, OLD AND NEW, by Thomas C. Cochran	1561

Reviews of Books

General

<i>Sills</i> , ed., INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, by T. C. Cochran	1573
<i>Runciman</i> , THE GREAT CHURCH IN CAP- TIVITY, by C. Mango	1576
<i>Emerson</i> , ENGLISH PURITANISM FROM JOHN HOOPER TO JOHN MILTON; <i>Shea</i> , SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN EARLY AMERICA, by C. F. Mullett	1578
<i>Kamen et al.</i> , THE AGE OF EXPANSION, by T. K. Rabb	1579
<i>Hurd</i> , THE ARROW WAR; <i>Selby</i> , THE PAPER DRAGON, by R. A. Callahan	1581
<i>Perkins</i> , THE GREAT RAPPROCHEMENT; <i>Kottmann</i> , RECIPROCITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE, 1932- 1938, by M. Cunliffe	1582
<i>Brown</i> , CHEMICAL WARFARE, by R. Higham	1583
<i>Barker</i> , THE CIVILIZING MISSION, by G. W. Baer	1584
<i>Hope</i> , AMERICA AND SWARAJ; <i>Kim</i> , UNITED STATES-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS 1946-1956, by N. A. Graebner	1586
<i>Shepperd</i> , THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN, 1943- 45, by R. M. Leighton	1587

<i>Rothermund</i> , INDIEN UND DIE SOWJET- UNION, by R. E. Kanet	1588
---	------

Ancient

<i>Salonen</i> , AGRICULTURA MESOPOTAMICA NACH SUMERISCH-AKKADISCHEN QUELL- EN, by E. M. Yamauchi	1589
A LAND CALLED CRETE, by L. Casson	1590
<i>Moscati</i> , THE WORLD OF THE PHOENI- CIANS, by T. B. Jones	1590
<i>Brand</i> , ROMAN MILITARY LAW, by T. R. S. Broughton	1593
<i>Connor</i> , THEOPOMPUS AND FIFTH-CEN- TURY ATHENS; <i>Goldstein</i> , THE LET- TERS OF DEMOSTHENES, by T. S. Brown	1593
<i>Bamm</i> , ALEXANDER THE GREAT, by O. W. Reinmuth	1594
<i>Varstos</i> , PYRRHUS IN ITALY, by P. Mac- Kendrick	1595
<i>Syme</i> , AMMIANUS AND THE HISTORIA AUGUSTA, by D. Kagan	1596
<i>Oost</i> , GALLA PLACIDIA AUGUSTA, by W. G. Sinnigen	1596
<i>Alexander</i> , THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK, by C. Mango	1597

Medieval

<i>Lammers</i> , ed., ENTSTEHUNG UND VER- FASSUNG DES SACHSENSTAMMES, by D. A. White	1598
--	------

Table of Contents—Continued

iii

<i>Skazkin et al.</i> , eds., <i>ISTORIA VIZANTI</i> , by D. A. Miller	1599	<i>Marshall</i> , <i>PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE</i> , by H. Furber	1626
<i>Domonkos and Schneider</i> , eds., <i>STUD- IUM GENERALE</i> , by K. M. Woody	1601	<i>Feuchtwanger</i> , <i>DISRAELI, DEMOCRACY, AND THE TORY PARTY; Pinto-Duschin- sky, THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF LORD SALISBURY, 1854-68</i> , by A. Tucker	1627
<i>Giesey</i> , <i>IF NOT, NOT</i> , by R. I. Burns	1603	<i>Reese</i> , <i>THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, 1868-1968</i> , by A. M. Burton	1628
<i>Young</i> , <i>HUBERT WALTER, LORD OF CAN- TERBURY AND LORD OF ENGLAND; Cheney, HUBERT WALTER</i> , by J. W. Alexander	1604	<i>Kinnear</i> , <i>THE BRITISH VOTER</i> , by H. J. Hanhaim	1630
<i>Pincin</i> , <i>MARSILIO</i> , by C. T. Davis	1605	<i>Muggeridge and Adam</i> , <i>BEATRICE WEBB</i> , by B. Semmel	1631
<i>Lerner</i> , <i>THE AGE OF ADVERSITY</i> , by J. H. Mundy	1606	<i>Marwick</i> , <i>BRITAIN IN THE CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR</i> , by S. J. Hurwitz	1632
<i>Lewis</i> , <i>LATER MEDIEVAL FRANCE</i> , by F. J. Pegues	1607	<i>Gregory</i> , <i>THE MINERS AND BRITISH POL- ITICS, 1906-1914</i> , by P. P. Poirier	1632
<i>Bowsky</i> , ed., <i>STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE HISTORY, V</i> , by F. E. Cranz	1608	<i>Martin</i> , <i>EDITOR</i> , by A. Marwick	1633
Modern Europe		<i>Grimley</i> , <i>ROUSSEAU AND THE RELIGIOUS QUEST</i> , by P. Gay	1634
<i>Geyer</i> , ed., <i>WISSENSCHAFT IN KOMMU- NISTISCHEN LÄNDERN</i> , by R. V. Allen	1609	<i>Knight</i> , <i>THE GEOMETRIC SPIRIT</i> , by G. J. Cavanaugh	1635
<i>Smith</i> , <i>AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE 1800</i> , by H. C. Krueger	1610	<i>Hohl</i> , <i>UN AGENT DU COMITÉ DE SÛR- ÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE</i> , by C. Tilly	1637
<i>Oppenoorth</i> , <i>"AUSLÄNDER" IN BRANDEN- BURG-PREUSSEN</i> , by D. E. Emerson	1612	<i>Gille</i> , <i>LA SIDÉRURGIE FRANÇAISE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE</i> , by R. Cameron	1638
<i>Filippone</i> , <i>LE RELAZIONI TRA LO STATO PONTIFICIO E LA FRANCIA RIVOLUZION- ARIA</i> , by S. Lytle	1612	<i>Ponteil</i> , <i>LES CLASSES BOURGEOISES ET L'AVÈNEMENT DE LA DÉMOCRATIE. 1815-1914</i> , by S. Mellon	1638
<i>Rothstein</i> , <i>ALLIANCES AND SMALL POW- ERS</i> , by R. H. Ullman	1614	<i>Harpaz</i> , <i>L'ÉCOLE LIBÉRALE SOUS LA RES- TAURATION</i> , by J. J. Baughman	1640
<i>Kumpf-Korjes</i> , <i>BISMARCKS "DRAHT NACH RUSSLAND"</i> , by G. E. Silberstein	1615	<i>Williams</i> , <i>HENRI ROCHEFORT</i> , by J. T. Joughin	1641
<i>Krosby</i> , <i>FINLAND, GERMANY, AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1940-1941</i> , by K. Forster	1617	<i>DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS 1932-1939, 2d Ser., IV</i> , by P. S. Wandycz	1642
<i>Nekritch</i> , <i>L'ARMÉE ROUGE ASSASSINÉE; Petrov, "JUNE 22, 1941"</i> , by A. Dal- lin	1618	<i>Baroja</i> , <i>EL SEÑOR INQUISIDOR Y OTRAS VIDAS POR OFICIO</i> , by D. L. Jensen	1643
<i>Plehue</i> , <i>SCHICKSALSSTUNDEN IN ROM</i> , by H. M. Smyth	1619	<i>Aronson</i> , <i>DEFIANT DYNASTY</i> , by P. H. Laucht	1644
<i>DOCUMENTS ON POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1939-1945, II</i> , by D. O. Kieft	1620	<i>Wieser</i> , ed., <i>ACHT JAHRHUNDERTE DEUTSCHER ORDEN IN EINZELDAR- STELLUNGEN</i> , by C. L. Tipton	1645
<i>Serfaty</i> , <i>FRANCE, DE GAULLE, AND EU- ROPE</i> , by J. C. Cairns	1621	<i>Pelikan</i> , ed., <i>INTERPRETERS OF LUTHER</i> , by H. J. Grimm	1646
<i>Marx</i> , <i>HISTOIRE DU ROYAUME-UNI</i> , by W. H. Coates	1621	<i>Dannensfeldt</i> , <i>LEONHARD RAUWOLF</i> , by V. L. Bullough	1647
<i>Loades</i> , ed., <i>THE PAPERS OF GEORGE WYATT ESQUIRE, OF BOXLEY ABBEY IN THE COUNTY OF KENT, SON AND HEIR OF SIR THOMAS WYATT THE YOUNGER</i> , by S. E. Lehmborg	1622	<i>Kutz and Milkereit</i> , <i>BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER MOSELKANALISIER- UNG; Weber, ERDÖLHANDEL UND ERDÖLVERARBEITUNG AN DER UNTER- WEISER, 1860-1895; Schmitz, LEIN- ENGWERBE UND LEINENHANDEL IN NORDWESTDEUTSCHLAND (1650- 1850); Kisch, PRUSSIAN MERCANTIL- ISM AND THE RISE OF THE KREFELD SILK INDUSTRY</i> , by G. Rimlinger	1648
<i>MacCaffrey</i> , <i>THE SHAPING OF THE ELIZA- BETHAN REGIME</i> , by M. Lee, Jr.	1623		
<i>Howell</i> , <i>SIR PHILIP SIDNEY</i> , by W. L. Woodfill	1624		
<i>Holmes</i> , <i>BRITISH POLITICS IN THE AGE OF ANNE</i> , by C. Robbins	1625		

<i>Schoeps</i> , ed., NEUE QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE PREUSSENS IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT, by H. M. Adams	1651	<i>Lall</i> , THE UN AND THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, 1967, by W. Spencer	1677
<i>Kluxen</i> and <i>Mommesen</i> , eds., POLITISCHE IDEOLOGIEEN UND NATIONALISTAATLICHE ORDNUNG, by E. N. Anderson	1652	Africa	
<i>Kiichen</i> , THE GERMAN OFFICER CORPS, 1890-1914, by A. Saville	1653	<i>Woolman</i> , REBELS IN THE RIF, by R. M. Brace	1678
<i>Jaeger</i> , UNTERNEHMER IN DER DEUTSCHEN POLITIK (1890-1918), by A. G. Whiteside	1654	<i>Crowder</i> , WEST AFRICA UNDER COLONIAL RULE; <i>Stoecker</i> , ed., KAMERUN UNTER DEUTSCHER KOLONIALHERRSCHAFT, II, by W. W. Schmokel	1679
<i>Banaszkiewicz</i> , POWSTANIE PARTII HITLEROWSKIEJ, by L. V. Thompson	1655	<i>Ranger</i> , ed., ASPECTS OF CENTRAL AFRICAN HISTORY; <i>Tindall</i> , A HISTORY OF CENTRAL AFRICA, by J. Herskovits	1680
<i>Höhne</i> , DER ORDEN UNTER DEM TOTENKOPF, by R. H. Phelps	1656	Asia and the East	
<i>Bunn</i> , GERMAN POLITICS AND THE SPIEGEL AFFAIR, by D. Schoonmaker	1657	<i>Sivin</i> , CHINESE ALCHEMY, by R. C. Croizier	1682
<i>Ganoczy</i> , LE JEUNE CALVIN, by R. M. Kingdon	1658	<i>Ho</i> and <i>Tsou</i> , eds., CHINA IN CRISIS, I and II, by J. K. Fairbank	1683
<i>Prodi</i> , IL CARDINALE GABRIELE PALEOTTI (1522-1597), II, by W. Gilbert	1659	<i>Le Fevour</i> , WESTERN ENTERPRISE IN LATE CH'ING CHINA, by Hoh-Cheung Mui	1685
<i>Mikucki</i> , ed., STUDIA Z DZIEJÓW WYDZIAŁU FILOZOFICZNO-HISTORYCZNEGO UNIwersYTETU JAGIELLOŃSKIEGO, by O. Halecki	1660	<i>Chesneaux</i> , THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1919-1927, by Y. C. Wang	1686
<i>Manousakis</i> , HELLAS—WOHIN? by G. Moutafakis	1662	<i>Sherwani</i> , MUHAMMAD-QULĪ QUTB SHĀH, by J. W. Spellman	1688
<i>Shoup</i> , COMMUNISM AND THE YUGOSLAV NATIONAL QUESTION, by M. G. Zaninovich	1662	<i>Jackson</i> , PLANTERS AND SPECULATORS, by D. Wightman	1689
<i>Harcave</i> , YEARS OF THE GOLDEN COCKEREL, by A. G. Mazour	1663	<i>Salamanca</i> , THE FILIPINO REACTION TO AMERICAN RULE, 1901-1913, by D. J. Steinberg	1690
<i>Byrnes</i> , POBEDONOSTSEV, by P. Avrich	1665	<i>Toye</i> , LAOS, by C. Hobbs	1690
<i>Wildman</i> , THE MAKING OF A WORKERS' REVOLUTION, by R. Pipes	1666	<i>Sharp</i> , THE VOYAGES OF ABEL JANSZON TASMAN, by S. C. McCulloch	1691
<i>Vouchik</i> , POLITIKA TSARIZMA PO RABOCHEMU VOPROSU V PREDREVOLIUTIONNYI PERIOD (1895-1904), by W. D. McClellan	1667	<i>Blainey</i> , THE TYRANNY OF DISTANCE, by S. C. McCulloch	1692
<i>Lewin</i> , LENIN'S LAST STRUGGLE; <i>Valentinov</i> , ENCOUNTERS WITH LENIN, by S. W. Page	1668	<i>Clark</i> , A HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA, II, by P. Burroughs	1693
<i>Schwarz</i> , SOTSIAL'NOE STRAKHOVANIE V ROSSI V 1917-1919 GODAKH, by P. B. Maggs	1670	Americas	
<i>Conquest</i> , THE GREAT TERROR, by D. W. Treadgold	1670	<i>Hicks</i> , MY LIFE WITH HISTORY, by R. F. Nichols	1694
<i>Levi</i> , IL POTERE IN RUSSIA, by R. F. Byrnes	1672	<i>Nichols</i> , A HISTORIAN'S PROGRESS, by W. S. Holt	1695
<i>Simmonds</i> , ed., SOVIET LEADERS, by R. V. Daniels	1673	<i>Josephy</i> , THE INDIAN HERITAGE OF AMERICA, by H. E. Fritz	1696
Near East		<i>Beaver et al.</i> , REINTERPRETATION IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY, by R. B. Spain	1698
<i>Fisher</i> , ed., THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF IRAN, I, by C. Issawi	1675	<i>Wacker</i> , THE MUSCONETCONG VALLEY OF NEW JERSEY, by S. K. Stevens	1699
<i>Stein</i> and <i>Yogev</i> , eds., THE LETTERS AND PAPERS OF CHAIM WEIZMANN, I, by H. M. Sachar	1675	<i>Erikson</i> , WAYWARD PURITANS, by G. E. Hartdagen	1700
<i>Hartunian</i> , NEITHER TO LAUGH NOR TO WEEP, by A. O. Sarkissian	1677	<i>Condon</i> , NEW YORK BEGINNINGS, by D. R. Gerlach	1701
		<i>Jones</i> , CONGREGATIONAL COMMONWEALTH, by A. E. Van Dusen	1702
		<i>Gardiner</i> , ed., A STUDY IN DISSIDENT WATERS, THE OTIS FAMILY IN PROVIN-	

Table of Contents—Continued

v

CIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY MASSACHUSETTS, by R. E. Brown	1703	VICES AT THE BATTLES OF MANASSAS (BULL RUN), by J. A. Carrigan	1731
Nash, QUAKERS AND POLITICS, by P. S. Klein	1704	Castel, GENERAL STERLING PRICE AND THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WEST, by R. Hartje	1733
Brook, PACIFISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND RADICAL PACIFISTS IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA, by A. A. Ekirch, Jr.	1705	Curry, BLUEPRINT FOR MODERN AMERICA, by R. H. Sewell	1734
Hamer et al., eds., THE PAPERS OF HENRY LAURENS, I, by A. C. Land	1707	Weaver, THE SOUTHERN TRADITION AT BAY, by C. N. Degler	1735
Truax, THE DOCTORS WARREN OF BOSTON, by C. R. Hall	1709	Pulley, OLD VIRGINIA RESTORED; Wilkin-son, HARRY BYRD AND THE CHANGING FACE OF VIRGINIA POLITICS, 1945-1966, by D. W. Grantham	1736
McCloskey, ed., THE WORKS OF JAMES WILSON, by A. Koch	1710	Sageser, JOSEPH L. BRISTOW, by R. S. La Forte	1738
Clark, ed., NAVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, III, by N. R. Stout	1712	Bailey, EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY, by S. Hackney	1738
Neel, PHINEAS BOND, by J. M. Coleman	1713	Miller, STATLER, by D. E. King	1739
Eidelberg, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, by R. B. Morris	1713	Pickens, EUGENICS AND THE PROGRES- SIVES, by G. E. Mowry	1740
Shaw, ERIE WATER WEST, by N. Miller	1715	Tindall, THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1913-1945, by B. H. Wall	1741
Sobel, PANIC ON WALL STREET, by J. P. Nichols	1716	Kerr, AMERICAN RAILROAD POLITICS, 1914-1920, by J. F. Stover	1742
Todd, THE CORNISH MINER IN AMERICA, by T. L. Smith	1716	Sawyer, CONCERNS OF A CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRAT, by F. Freidel	1743
Brucoli, ed., THE PROFESSION OF AUTH- ORSHIP IN AMERICA, 1800-1870, by P. S. Boyer	1717	Huthmacher, SENATOR ROBERT F. WAG- NER AND THE RISE OF URBAN LIBERAL- ISM, by A. B. Rollins, Jr.	1744
Smelser, THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, 1801-1815, by A. P. Young	1719	O'Brien, AMERICAN CATHOLICS AND SO- CIAL REFORM; Flynn, AMERICAN CATHOLICS & THE ROOSEVELT PRES- IDENCY, 1932-1936, by J. D. Buenger	1745
Faulkner, THE JURISPRUDENCE OF JOHN MARSHALL, by A. H. Kelly	1720	Barnouw, THE GOLDEN WEB, II, by A. Briggs	1746
Miller, THE SUPREME COURT AND AMERI- CAN CAPITALISM, by A. M. Paul	1721	Traina, AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, by J. C. Vinson	1747
Beard, ed., THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, V and VI, by J. W. Ward	1722	Chadwin, THE HAWKS OF WORLD WAR II, by R. Polenberg	1748
Suivenga, PIONEERS AND PROFITS, by G. B. Dodds	1723	FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945, IV, by S. W. Ambrose	1749
Noble, THE ETERNAL ADAM AND THE NEW WORLD GARDEN, by L. Marx	1724	Dixon, DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION, by D. Fellman	1750
Ratner, POWDER KEG, by A. Wein- stein	1725	Morton, ed., THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES, by R. W. Winks	1751
Tolis, ELIHU BURRITT, by G. M. Ostran- der	1726	Ryerson, UNEQUAL UNION, by R. Cook	1752
Tyler, THE WILKES EXPEDITION, by R. A. Bartlett	1727	Woodcock and Avakumovic, THE DOUK- HOBORS, by J. A. Boudreau	1753
Lannie, PUBLIC MONEY AND PAROCHIAL EDUCATION, by J. W. Pratt	1728	Morrison, THE POLITICS OF THE YUKON TERRITORY, 1898-1909, by R. A. Webb	1754
Waller, COLOSSAL HAMILTON OF TEXAS, by W. C. Nunn	1729	Cook, THE DAFOE-SIFTON CORRESPOND- ENCE, 1919-1927, by J. T. Saywell	1755
O'Connor, LORDS OF THE LOOM, by A. D. Donald	1730	Lloyd and Lyon, CANADA IN WORLD AF- FAIRS, X and XII, by M. G. Lawson	1756
Steiner, DISEASE IN THE CIVIL WAR AND MEDICAL-MILITARY PORTRAITS OF UNION AND CONFEDERATE GENERALS; Cunningham, FIELD MEDICAL SER-		Frank, CAPITALISM AND UNDERDEVELOP-	

Table of Contents—Continued

MENT IN LATIN AMERICA, by R. Graham	1757	TIMES," by C. Solberg	1759
<i>Wedovoy</i> , LA EVOLUCIÓN ECONÓMICA RIOPLATENSE A FINES DEL SIGLO XVIII Y PRINCIPIOS DEL SIGLO XIX A LA LUZ DE LA HISTORIA DEL SEGURO, by C. G. Motten	1759	<i>Barceló et al.</i> , eds., RELACIONES DIPLOMÁTICAS HISPANO-MEXICANAS (1839-1898), by F. J. Manno	1760
<i>Kinsbruner</i> , "DIEGO PORTALES: INTERPRETATIVE ESSAYS ON THE MAN AND		<i>Weller</i> , THE EAST INDIAN INDENTURE IN TRINIDAD, by P. Marshall	1761
		<i>Miller</i> , FOR SCIENCE AND NATIONAL GLORY, by J. E. Fagg	1761

Association Notes

American Historical Association	1763
Recent Deaths	1763
Communications	1766
Index to Volume LXXIV, comp. by John T. Appleby	1773

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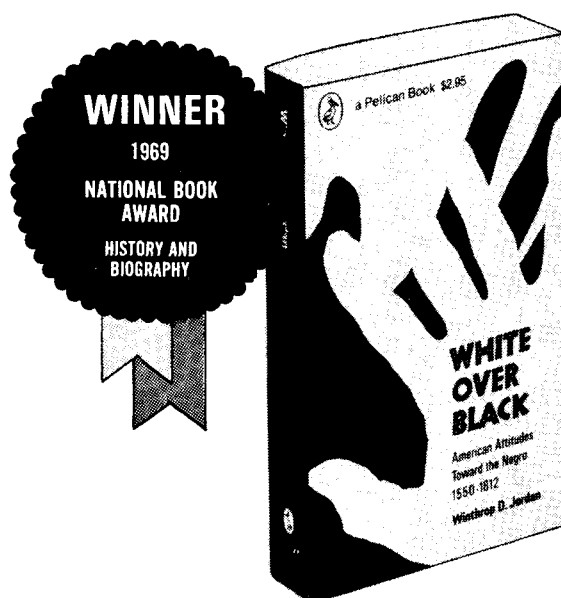
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Contents of Volume LXXIV

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER 1968

Articles

THE MORISCOS: AN OTTOMAN FIFTH COLUMN IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN	<i>Andrew C. Hess</i>	1
IF ALL THE WORLD WERE PHILADELPHIA: A SCAFFOLDING FOR URBAN HISTORY, 1774-1930	<i>Sam Bass Warner, Jr.</i>	26
SMUGGLING AND THE BRITISH TEA TRADE BEFORE 1784	<i>Hoh-cheung and Lorna H. Mui</i>	44
THE PERILS OF PLURALISM: THE BACKGROUND OF THE PIERCE CASE	<i>David B. Tyack</i>	74
<i>Reviews of Books</i>		99
<i>Other Recent Publications</i>		347
<i>Association Notes</i>		421

NUMBER 2. DECEMBER 1968

Articles

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY AND THE LAW OF LIBEL: A HISTORIAN'S VIEW	<i>Alfred H. Kelly</i>	429
CHANGING CONCEPTS OF PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES: NEW YORK, 1815-1828	<i>Michael Wallace</i>	453
INUKAI TSUYOSHI: SOME DILEMMAS IN PARTY DEVELOPMENT IN PRE-WORLD WAR II JAPAN	<i>Tetsuo Najita</i>	492
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, 1871-1918	<i>James J. Sheehan</i>	511
<i>Review Note</i>		
TOWARDS A NEW PAST: DISSENTING ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY	<i>Aileen S. Kraditor and David Donald</i>	529
<i>Reviews of Books</i>		534

<i>Other Recent Publications</i>	787
<i>Association Notes</i>	847

NUMBER 3. FEBRUARY 1969

Presidential Address

ASSIGNMENT FOR THE '70's	<i>John K. Fairbank</i> 861
------------------------------------	-----------------------------

Articles

THOUGHT AND PRACTICE OF ENLIGHTENED GOVERNMENT IN FRENCH CORSICA	<i>Thadd E. Hall</i> 880
SOUTHERN VIOLENCE	<i>Sheldon Hackney</i> 906
RACIAL SEGREGATION IN ANTE BELLUM NEW ORLEANS	<i>Roger A. Fischer</i> 926

<i>Reviews of Books</i>	938
-----------------------------------	-----

<i>Other Recent Publications</i>	1130
--	------

<i>Association Notes</i>	1178
------------------------------------	------

NUMBER 4. APRIL 1969

Articles

THE GOALS OF ITALIAN FASCISM	<i>Edward R. Tannenbaum</i> 1183
THE CITIES AND THE ELECTION OF 1928: PARTISAN REALIGNMENT?	<i>Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen</i> 1205
THE STUDY OF UNITED STATES HISTORY IN THE SOVIET UNION	<i>N. N. Bolkhovitinov</i> 1221

<i>Reviews of Books</i>	1243
-----------------------------------	------

<i>Other Recent Publications</i>	1400
--	------

<i>Association Notes</i>	1457
------------------------------------	------

Articles

JOHANNES VON MÜLLER: THE HISTORIAN IN SEARCH OF
A HERO *Gordon A. Craig* 1487

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CORTES OF LEÓN-CASTILE
Joseph F. O'Callaghan 1503

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CANVASSING: YORKSHIRE
ELECTIONS BEFORE THE REFORM BILL
Robert Worthington Smith 1538

ECONOMIC HISTORY, OLD AND NEW . . . *Thomas C. Cochran* 1561

Reviews of Books 1573

Association Notes. 1763

Index to Volume LXXIV, comp. by JOHN T. APPLEBY . . 1773

The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME LXXIV, NUMBER 5

JUNE 1969

Johannes von Müller: The Historian in Search of a Hero

GORDON A. CRAIG

IT has often been remarked of our discipline that it is grounded in terminological confusion, the word “history” referring both to the process with which it is concerned and the product of that concern. No similar ambiguity exists with respect to the term “historian.” It is generally understood that a historian does not make history (in the way a general or a politician does), but writes about it after it has been made. At least this is generally understood by the lay public; it is the historian who occasionally grows restive with the distinction. Why, he has been known to ask, should he be relegated to the sidelines when great events are taking place? Does not his profession both qualify and oblige him to play a role in national policy, since his knowledge of the past gives him an incomparably wider view than the ordinary politi-

► *Mr. Craig, a professor of history at Stanford University, is the author of The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945 (Oxford, Eng., 1955). His major field of interest is German history, and he holds the position of Honorarprofessor at the Free University of Berlin. He studied at Oxford with B. H. Sumner and E. L. Woodward and received his Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1941, where he worked under Raymond James Sontag.*

cian and, when great decisions are to be made, enables him to supply a necessary sense of perspective? Is not, in fact, the proper place of the historian at the side of the prince, performing whatever services are assigned to him and retiring in the evening of his days to record what he has observed?

Since history has grown as a professional discipline, there have been many historians who have felt this way and who have acted in accordance with their feelings. All too often, however, they have discovered that the princes they have sought to serve are neither impressed by their qualifications nor interested in their motives and that, when they have been employed, it has not been in the interest of sound policy or historical truth but, as Herbert Lüthy has written recently, "in order to publish [the princes'] own glory, to justify their claims, to strengthen the loyalty of their subjects."¹ Sometimes this has been managed so delicately that the historian has never quite realized what was happening to him; in most cases, however, he has, sooner or later, awakened to the realities of his situation, and the experience has been chastening. The career of Johannes von Müller is an excellent illustration of this.

Müller has, of course, other claims upon the attention of historians. A member of the remarkable group of German intellectuals who reached the height of their powers during the period of the French Revolution, he was the friend and correspondent of J. G. von Herder and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, of Georg Forster and Alexander von Humboldt, of Madame de Staël and Friedrich von Gentz, of Baron vom Stein and Prince von Hardenberg. His collected letters, which reflect most of the political and cultural currents of his day, comprise a treasure-trove that deserves more attention from students of the period than it has received.² In his chosen vocation, he was the first German historian who felt that he was writing for the ages, like Thucydides and Tacitus,³ with whom, indeed, he was compared,⁴ and in one sense at least he succeeded in doing precisely that, for he, more than any other person, created the myth of the Swiss people, so that even today, when we think of Switzerland, we think unwittingly in his terms and his images. Nor was this the only way in which he transcended the limits of his own time. Writing in an age which, until Napoleon disabused it, clung to cosmo-

¹ Herbert Lüthy, "What's the Point of History?" *Journal of Contemporary History*, III (Apr. 1968), 13-14.

² A good selection from the letters can be found in Johannes von Müller, *Briefe in Auswahl*, ed. Edgar Bonjour (2d ed., Basel, 1954); see also *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Johann Georg Müller (40 vols., Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1831-35), XXIX-XL. Perhaps the most interesting of the letters from a political point of view are in *Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich von Gentz und Johannes von Müller*, ed. Gustav Schlesier (Mannheim, 1840).

³ Wilhelm Hoffner (Wilhelm Dilthey), "Deutsche Geschichtsschreiber: Johannes von Müller," *Westermanns Jahrbuch der Illustrierten Deutschen Monatshefte*, XIX (1866), 246.

⁴ Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte vom deutschen Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart* (2 vols., Munich, 1950-51), I, 161.

politan values and utopian schemes of world harmony, he had an instinctive sense of the demonic qualities of power, and implicit in all his work was an insistence upon the importance of learning to face and control it. Finally, at a time when Europe was still the lever that moved the world, he anticipated that *Kulturpessimismus* that has had so profound an influence in German thought, and it is not too much to say that his life and writings were strongly affected by a sense of the passing of the European age and the coming transference of mastery to the emergent empires that lay beyond the Carpathians and the Atlantic.

For all of these reasons Müller is an interesting figure in the intellectual history of his time. This article, however, treats only his political ambitions and their disappointment.

Johann Müller (the patent of nobility came later)⁵ was born on January 3, 1752, in Schaffhausen, Switzerland, where his father was pastor and teacher in the Latin school. He attended the local Gymnasium and, when he was eighteen, traveled to Göttingen, with the intention of studying theology. There, however, he came under the influence of August Ludwig Schlözer,⁶ who inflamed his already well-developed interest in history and persuaded him to attempt an account of the wars of one of the ancient Germanic tribes. The resultant study, written in Latin under the title *Bellum Cimbri-cum*,⁷ showed mastery of the sources and skill in their use and won the approbation, not only of Schlözer, but, later, of so stern a judge as Barthold Georg Niebuhr.⁸ It also confirmed Müller in his choice of a career. Returning to Switzerland, he plunged into archival research, supporting himself meanwhile, through the good offices of a well-connected friend,⁹ by a series of undemanding jobs as tutor and companion. In 1778 he aroused public atten-

⁵ In 1791 he was ennobled by the Emperor of Austria in recognition of diplomatic services in connection with the imperial elections of 1790 while he was in the service of the archbishop-elect of Mainz; he took the title Johannes, Edler von Müller zu Sylvelden, H. R. R. Ritter. (See *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXVI, 14, 191-92.)

⁶ On Schlözer, see Srbik, *Geist und Geschichte*, I, 124-26.

⁷ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXIII, 205-33. It was published in 1772 and translated into German in 1810.

⁸ Kurt Wehrle, *Die geistige Entwicklung Johannes von Müllers* (Basel, 1965), 13-14. Niebuhr was no great admirer of Müller, and this praise of his first work may have been intended to depreciate what came later.

⁹ This was Carl Victor von Bonstetten, the son of a patrician family in Geneva. Müller's letters to him, published by Friederika Brun under the title *Briefe eines jungen Gelehrten an seinen Freund* (Tübingen, 1802), won him almost as much attention and praise from his contemporaries as his historical work. They are included in *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXIV-XXXVI. An exception to the general chorus of admiration was Franz Grillparzer, who found the letters affected. (See Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Peter Frank and Karl Pönbacher [4 vols., Munich, 1960-65], III, 1011.) On the friendship between Müller and Bonstetten, see Werner Kirchner, *Studien zu einer Darstellung Johannes von Müllers* (Heidelberg, 1927), 22-46.

tion with a course of spirited lectures on universal history, and in 1780 he published the first volume of the work which, when complete, was to be called *The History of the Swiss Confederacy*.¹⁰

This work brought Müller a degree of fame not usually accorded to scholars in his time, and it was deserved. No previous history of Switzerland was to be based so solidly upon historical records, and, whatever later historians might say about the frailties of Müller's critical method,¹¹ Friedrich Gundolf was correct in writing in 1923 that, thanks to his archival researches, Müller had succeeded in presenting "the first substantial and detailed account of the medieval period, of which until his time only vague unstructured notions, mostly about knights in armor, were current."¹² It was, moreover, the first historical work in German that had any literary distinction: it was constructed like a novel or epic and told, in a series of dramatic scenes and brilliant characterizations and in a purposefully archaic style designed to enhance its verisimilitude, the story of a freedom-loving people battling to preserve its birthright against external aggression.¹³ Here half-forgotten figures—like Rudolf of Habsburg and Ludwig von Erlach—took on flesh and blood; here the oath on the Rütli was sworn again, and the heroic form of Wilhelm Tell entered the popular consciousness (without Müller's history, Friedrich Schiller's play would have been unthinkable);¹⁴ here the clashes of arms at Morgarten and Sempach were turned into political symbols for a divided people who knew little of its past and was fearful of its future. This was a new kind of history, written with a verve that left few readers unmoved and may well have inspired Goethe's famous statement that "the greatest gift that history has to give us is the enthusiasm it can arouse."¹⁵ The success of Müller's first volume was unexampled, not only in his own country, but in France¹⁶ and in the German states where the author was hailed as "the

¹⁰ See *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, VII–XXII.

¹¹ See, *inter alia*, G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (new impression, London, 1935), II, 445–46.

¹² Johannes von Müller, *Geschichten schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft*, selected and ed. Friedrich Gundolf (Leipzig, 1923), 28; see also "Geschichtswerk als grosse Prosa: Johannes von Müller," *Die Welt der Literatur*, Oct. 26, 1967.

¹³ See the analysis in Kirchner, *Studien*, 47–54.

¹⁴ See Edgar Bonjour's introduction to his edition of Johannes von Müller, *Schriften in Auswahl* (2d ed., Basel, 1955), 28. Schiller acknowledged his debt in the first scene of his play's last act, where Stauffacher says

Es ist gewiss, bei Bruck fiel König Albrecht

Durch Mörders Hand—ein glaubenwerter Mann,

Johannes Müller, bracht' es von Schaffhausen. [*Wilhelm Tell*, act 5, scene 1, lines 2946–48.]

¹⁵ Albert Leitzmann, "Goethes Beziehungen zu Johannes von Müller," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLII (No. 3, 1935), 518.

¹⁶ Even before the publication of his first volume, Voltaire had introduced him to an acquaintance with the words: "This young man with the face of a fifteen-year-old boy is *the* historian of Switzerland." (Dilthey, "Deutsche Geschichtschreiber," 248.)

Klopstock of history.”¹⁷ Overnight he was raised to the first rank of European historians and could count on a secure and respected future in a university chair.

But this was not the career that Müller envisaged for himself. He was not interested in teaching, and even the private lessons he had given in Switzerland had bored him: “My lectures are killing me!” he wrote to his friend Carl Victor von Bonstetten in 1779. “It is intolerable to have to cater four times a week to the tastes of a dozen youngsters!”¹⁸ It was not an academic career but the world of politics that attracted him. In 1772, when he had finished his book about the Cimbri, he sent a copy to Emperor Joseph II with a plea—never answered—to be taken into his service. “To read, to witness, to admire great deeds and to do none myself,” he wrote, “to write the annals of humanity and to deserve no place in them—Sire! for me that is impossible!”¹⁹ The success of his Swiss history did not affect these feelings. He hoped, indeed, to use that success to fulfill them, not in Vienna this time, but in Potsdam.

In February 1781, thanks to a letter of recommendation written by the French philosopher Jean Baptiste le Rond d’Alembert, Müller was given an audience with King Frederick II of Prussia. It was a tremendously exciting experience for the young scholar, one that remained a source of inspiration to him and a dominant influence on his thinking for the next twenty-five years—for almost all the rest of his life. He stumbled from the royal presence in a state of near ecstasy. “Oh, Frederick! Frederick!” he wrote in a letter to his closest friend. “I shall never forget you as I saw you in this divine moment! If I should live a hundred years and never see you again, I would always remember that I had seen Caesar and Alexander! *Je suis amoureux du roi!*”²⁰ He had no doubts now about what his career should be: he wanted to serve the King, as his historian and perhaps as one of his advisers.

Between those who admire power and those who wield it understanding is adventitious. Frederick had no need of a historical adviser, and he had, in any case, been little impressed by this garrulous young man with his bad Swiss French. He wrote to D’Alembert:

Your Mr. Mayer has been here, and I confess that I found him tedious. He has done research on the Cimbri and the Teutons, for which I give him no credit, and has also written an analysis of universal history in which he has studiously

¹⁷ Kirchner, *Studien*, 54.

¹⁸ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXV, 139.

¹⁹ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 43–44.

²⁰ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXV, 161.

repeated what others have written or said better than he. If one only wants to copy things, he will increase the number of books *ad infinitum*, and the public will gain nothing from it. . . . But our Germans suffer from the disease called *logon diarrhoea*. . . .²¹

Müller, therefore, received no call from Berlin, but he did not return to Switzerland. Instead, he accepted an appointment at the *Collegium Carolinum* in the capital of Prussia's ally Hesse-Cassel, where he gave lectures on diplomatic history to the young military officers who formed its student body, where he was employed on occasion as an adviser on foreign affairs, and where he was, he hoped, conveniently positioned in case the King changed his mind.²² The job in Cassel was the first of a series of such appointments that Müller was to occupy from then until his death, posts of marginal political importance, but always with duties onerous enough to interfere seriously with his historical researches, so that, in the end, none of his major works were completed. Müller frequently complained about this and threatened to put the world of politics behind him.²³ He never succeeded in doing so.

It would be less than just to feel that this was only because of his personal ambition and his belief that one day he would be given the kind of political position he deserved. He was, in truth, a vain man, but there was more to it than that. His attitude was, to a large extent, determined by a fundamentally pessimistic view of the times in which he lived and by his conception of the historian's duties in them. He had long felt—and had said so to his old teacher Schlözer in 1774—that “Europe [was] sinking back into the night of tyranny” and that his age was “gravid with great changes.”²⁴ Now, in 1782, in two remarkable letters to his friend Bonstetten and to the critic Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, he elaborated on this theme. With obvious reference to Montesquieu and Machiavelli, whom he also claimed as his teachers,²⁵ he argued that the diversity of cultures and constitutional systems that was the basis of European civilization could only be maintained if governments showed restraint in their ambitions and peoples remained valorous in the defense of their freedoms. But it was clearly evident that popular virtue was being sapped by luxury and political energy by internecine strife (witness the growing divisiveness in Switzerland), while on the other hand military despotism and hegemonic ambition were everywhere rampant. The partition of

²¹ *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand* (30 vols., Berlin, 1846–56), XXV, 176. It was D'Alembert who confused Müller's name (*ibid.*, 174), and the King followed suit.

²² *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXV, 229–34, 301.

²³ See, e.g., *ibid.*, XXX, 171–80; Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 177.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 73–75.

²⁵ On Montesquieu's influence on Müller, see Kirchner, *Studien*, 33–36; on Machiavelli's, see *ibid.*, 36–37; and see Wehrle, *Geistige Entwicklung*, 29.

Poland in 1772 was a warning that the liberties of Europe were threatened;²⁶ the death of Frederick of Prussia, when it came, would doubtless bring other ominous changes in its wake. In all the world, the only happy sign was the revolution in America,²⁷ but this new birth of freedom could not save Europe from imminent death if it would not save itself. The times, then, were dark, but "what a time for a historian, when all the passions are on the move . . . and the *dénouement* of everything that has been preparing itself for three hundred years is at hand! What a time . . . and what obligations it imposes on us!"²⁸ For who could more effectively define the peril than the historian, or more persuasively show that, if Europe were to be prevented from falling under the sway of a single power, it must find new spirit and new leadership—another Gustavus, perhaps, or a William III? And if Europe's death was unavoidable, then surely it was the duty of the historian "to make clear the origins and the evolution, the interrelationship and the effects, of the great aberrations through which we have become what we are, and to do so truthfully and freely . . . as a warning to coming generations in the New World!"²⁹

This meant, in either case, that the historian must stay close to events, and that is what Müller did. If the world was on the move, he wrote to his brother, "do you think I could stay quiet in Geneva, giving lectures?"³⁰ And so, after four years in Cassel, he moved in 1786 to Mainz, entering the employment of the archbishop-elect, first as court councilor and librarian,³¹ and later as one of his most influential advisers on foreign policy.³² When the

²⁶ In Book XXIII of his *Vier-und-zwanzig Bücher allgemeiner Geschichten besonders der europäischen Menschheit*, a compilation of his lectures written in 1797 but not published until after his death, Müller described the partition as the "strongest blow against the principles and treaties upon which depended the existence and balance of the state system" that had painfully evolved since the collapse of the western empire. (*Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, VI, 214; see also Paul Stauffer, *Die Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts im politischen Denken Johannes von Müllers* [Basel, 1960], 36.)

²⁷ Müller's interest in America had probably been aroused by Francis Kinloch of South Carolina, a close friend of his in the 1770's. His works abound with interesting and sometimes prophetic passages about America's future. (See, e.g., *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, VI, 270; XXIX, 209; and Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 133.)

²⁸ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXV, 305.

²⁹ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 133.

³⁰ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXV, 174.

³¹ In 1788 he relinquished the post of librarian to the natural philosopher Georg Forster, whom he had known in Cassel and who was later to become the leading spirit in the Rhenish Republic when the French took Mainz in 1792. (See Gordon A. Craig, "Engagement and Neutrality in Germany: The Case of Georg Forster, 1754-1794," *Journal of Modern History*, XLI [Mar. 1969], 1-16; and *Briefe an Johann von Müller*, ed. Maurer-Constant [6 vols., Schaffhausen, 1839-40], VI, 243-316.)

³² In 1787 he carried out a successful mission to Rome in connection with the appointment of Freiherr Karl Theodor von Dalberg as *Koadjutor* in Mainz, and in 1790 he was active in the negotiations in Frankfurt preceding the election of Emperor Leopold II. (See Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 158; and Johann von Müller, *Der Geschichten schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft* [neue verbesserte . . . und mit einer Biographie des Verfassers vermehrte Auflage, 4 vols., Reutlingen, 1824-25], I, ix-x.)

expansionist phase of the French Revolution brought a French army to Mainz in 1792,³³ he fled with the elector to Vienna and soon transferred to the Austrian service, where he remained for ten years, working as curator in the imperial archives, as political pamphleteer, and, on occasion, as confidential diplomatic agent for the government.³⁴ In so far as he could, he continued to work on his history of Switzerland, bringing out the second volume, and a revision of the first, in 1786, and the third volume in 1796, but these labors were generally subordinated to his political activities.

As the years passed, his pessimism concerning Europe's future deepened. In Mainz, under the inspiration of that Fürstenbund which Frederick II had formed as a barrier to Joseph II's Bavarian ambitions, he had written his most extensive political essay—an eloquent plea for the elaboration of that association and for a political balance of power based on cooperation between Austria and Prussia that would secure peace in Europe and establish the conditions necessary for its moral regeneration³⁵—but within a year of its publication he had been forced to admit that the spirit of the Fürstenbund had died with its author and that all his hopes were illusory.³⁶ In 1789 he greeted the fall of the Bastille in Paris as “the most beautiful day since the downfall of the Roman Empire”³⁷ and expressed the hope that events in France might have an electrifying effect in the German states, arousing new vital forces there. Before long, however, he was expressing disgust over the “Freiheits-schwindel und sophistische Gottlosigkeit” in Paris,³⁸ abhorrence at the “fools and monsters”³⁹ there, to whom “the spectacle of the guillotine has become a necessity,”⁴⁰ and bitter disappointment over the failure of an effective political or military response on the part of the Central European powers to French expansionism.⁴¹ Thinking of this inadequate reaction to the external threat, he came increasingly to believe that Europe was suffering from failure of leadership. “The world is going to pieces more and more,” he wrote to his brother. “The 149th Psalm is right. ‘Put not your faith in princes!’”⁴² If

³³ On Müller's interview with General Adam Philippe Custine, the commander of the French force that occupied Mainz, see *ibid.*, x-xi; and his letter of Nov. 9, 1792, in *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXI, 51-53.

³⁴ On his publicistic activities in Vienna, see Müller, *Geschichten schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Reutlingen ed.), xi; Stauffer, *Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts*, 53-59; *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXI, 128-29.

³⁵ “Darstellung des Fürstenbundes” (1787), *ibid.*, XXIV, 8-258; see also Stauffer, *Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts*, 13-15, 40, 43, 46; Wehrle, *Geistige Entwicklung*, 117-20.

³⁶ “Teutschlands Erwartungen vom Fürstenbunde” (1788), *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXIV, 259-84.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXX, 222.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 64.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 178.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XXXI, 128-29; Stauffer, *Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts*, 50-51.

⁴² *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXI, 88.

only Frederick were alive, this process of barbarism and decay would be impossible.

By the power of his scorn, by the flame of his great eyes, by the force of his command, the inciters [of these troubles] would be cast asunder and would stand naked and bare in their mediocrity and childishness, like our first parents after the eating of the apple. God be thanked for the twelfth of February 1781! Then I saw a king!⁴³

But where was the new Frederick to be found? It was not likely to happen in Vienna, where, since the death of Müller's first patron, Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, qualities of leadership seemed to be regarded with suspicion at court. Must one wait patiently, Müller asked the Danish muse Friederika Brun, until the right man came, who would know how to assess the sorry state of Europe and would have the necessary internal fire to inflame the masses to save it?⁴⁴ Or should one admit that "the role of Europe is finished and that the noblest among us must be saved across the ocean or in Asia"?⁴⁵ It was this mood of discouragement and doubt that oppressed Müller when he received yet another offer of employment and made his way back to the capital of his hero Frederick.

At the end of 1803 the Austrian Foreign Minister Johann Ludwig Graf von Cobenzl wanted to establish a secret means of communication with the Russian Foreign Office that would bypass the Russian ambassador in Vienna, the tendency of whose policy he distrusted. Cobenzl asked Müller to travel to Dresden and see if he could arrange this with a correspondent of his named Count d'Antraigues, who was Russian councilor of legation there. Müller welcomed the opportunity to leave Vienna for awhile; he was tired of the political infighting, he was having trouble with the censor,⁴⁶ and he had just been involved in a rather messy court case that had thrown embarrassing light upon aspects of his private life. And so he accepted the mission and executed it successfully. From Dresden he went to Weimar, was entertained by Goethe and had private conversations with the Grand Duke, and then traveled to Berlin. The King received him graciously and a few days later invited him to enter the Prussian service as *Geheimer Kriegsrath*, historian of the House of Brandenburg, and member of the Berlin Academy.⁴⁷ He accepted immediately.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 79.

⁴⁴ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 230–31.

⁴⁵ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXII, 198–99.

⁴⁶ The official censorship held up the publication of the Swiss history because it seemed to be a glorification of revolutionary principles. (See Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 301–302.)

⁴⁷ On the mission to Dresden and the talks in Weimar and Berlin, see August Fournier, *Gentz und Cobenzl* (Vienna, 1880), 124–25; Willy Andreas, "Johannes von Müller in Weimar 1804," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLV (No. 1, 1932), 69–80; and Paul R. Sweet, *Friedrich von*

After the cloying air of Vienna, he wrote to Gentz, the "free spirit" of Berlin was exhilarating.⁴⁸ Indeed, once he had settled in, he had a spurt of literary activity in which he finished the fourth volume of his Swiss history and wrote a number of historical papers that were read before the academy.⁴⁹ But the real excitement in Berlin was political, and Müller was soon caught up in it. He lived in a garden house on the Schiffbauerdamm, writing by day and, in the evenings, dining with Hardenberg and Karl August von Struensee, with the brothers Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt, and on occasion with his young admirer Alexander von der Marwitz.⁵⁰ In the latter months of 1804 he became a regular member of the circle surrounding Prince Louis Ferdinand, whom he greatly admired as the embodiment of the Frederician spirit and whom he may indeed have regarded, with his penchant for heroes, as a *Fredericus redivivus*.⁵¹ The Prince was a person of consequence in Berlin in 1804. Earlier than others, he sensed the threat posed by Napoleon's assumption of full power in France. He felt that the policy of drift being followed by King Frederick William III was suicidal, and he attracted to himself all those who felt the same way. Stein was one of his frequent visitors, and the new Austrian ambassador, Klemens Lothar von Metternich, also belonged to his coterie, which developed into a pressure group working for an Austro-Prussian alliance that might discourage new French aggression in Central Europe. Müller was cordially received by these activists, who remembered or had heard of his Fürstenbund essay of 1787; he, in turn, lent his pen to their cause. In a series of articles, he attacked the "persistent antagonism of the two great German states" with a vehemence that delighted Gentz in Vienna,⁵² and it was probably he who drafted the memo-

Gentz: *Defender of the Old Order* (Madison, Wis., 1941), 88-90. The last work is over-critical of Müller.

⁴⁸ *Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich von Gentz und Johannes von Müller*, ed. Schlesier, 38.

⁴⁹ These include essays on Frederick II, the Cid, the decline of freedom among the ancient peoples, and the calculation of time in the prehistoric period. (See *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXV, 78-172.)

⁵⁰ Marwitz' brother, Friedrich August Ludwig, disapproved of Alexander's friendship with Müller, and it is to him that we owe the following unflattering portrait of the historian in his Berlin period: "Johann von Müller war ein kleines, grundhässliches Kerlchen mit einem Spitzbauch und kleinen Beinchen, einem dicken Kopf immer glühend von vielem Fressen und Saufen, mit Glotzaugen, die weit aus dem Kopf heraus standen und beständig rot unterlaufen waren." (Theodor Fontane, *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg* [Nymphenburg ed., Munich, 1960], II, 225.)

⁵¹ See Paul Bailleu, "Prinz Louis Ferdinand: Eine historisch-biographische Studie," *Deutsche Rundschau*, XLV (Oct., Nov. 1885), 35-50, 208-29. The Prince was a commanding and mercurial person who treated Müller, depending on his mood, either as a great scholar or as a figure of fun. (See Henriette Herz, *Lebenserinnerungen* [Berlin, 1896], 202.)

⁵² See, e.g., the reviews included in *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXVII, 1-21, 21-28; for Gentz's reaction, see *Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz*, ed. Friedrich Carl Wittichen (2 vols., Munich, 1909-10), I, 277; II, 190.

randum that Louis Ferdinand sent to the King at the end of the year, urging speedy accommodation with Austria.⁵³

None of this had any effect upon the King, who was resolved to do nothing that might involve his country in war. Prussia remained aloof from the diplomatic maneuvers of the spring and summer of 1805 and from the short and shattering war that followed and that left Napoleon the virtual master of the Continent. The news of Austerlitz plunged Müller into the depths of depression—"Now Europe is done for: the most beautiful lands in the civilized world . . . the center of all scholarship, the hopes of all humanity—all done for!"⁵⁴—but only momentarily. Indicative of his euphoric mood in those days in Berlin was his conclusion that the containment of Napoleon, which he had formerly believed possible only by means of an Austro-Prussian alliance, could now be effected by Prussia alone and that once the Prussian Army took the field, the spirit of Frederick would triumph.⁵⁵ In 1806 he was heart and soul with the patriotic party, as bellicose as Stein and Prince Louis Ferdinand, and busily turning out new memorandums for the King's eye, urging mobilization measures, and recommending that cabinet councilors known for their attempts to appease Napoleon be dismissed from the royal service.⁵⁶ For the first time since his diplomatic activity in Mainz, he felt that he was participating meaningfully in the historical process. It was all very exciting and even, at times, gay, but it ended in a series of gray mornings in October, when the war he wanted really came and when he learned that his hero Louis Ferdinand was dead at Saalfeld and that Frederick's army had been destroyed at Jena and Auerstedt.

One might have thought that no one had burned his bridges more completely than Müller. He was known to be a close associate of Napoleon's most inveterate foes, and, in dozens of letters to his friends, he had made clear his reprobation of the Corsican, his conviction that a Bonapartist triumph would spell the end of European civilization, and his personal determination to take exile in Kazan or Irkutsk rather than "bend a knee before this contemptible antichrist, this creation of cowardice and failure of vision."⁵⁷ And yet, of course, Müller was a historian, and historians must take long views. Within a week of Jena, he was writing with cheerful resignation: "I find in history that when the time has come for a great change, there

⁵³ Bailleu, "Prinz Louis Ferdinand," 45-48.

⁵⁴ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 315-16.

⁵⁵ Wehrle, *Geistige Entwicklung*, 195-98; Stauffer, *Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts*, 66-68.

⁵⁶ Gerhard Ritter, *Stein: Eine politische Biographie* (3d ed., Stuttgart, 1958), 146-47, 160; Bailleu, "Prinz Louis Ferdinand," 221.

⁵⁷ See Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 304, 312-15, 315-16.

is no point in being against it: the true wisdom is to recognize the signs of the time."⁵⁸ And, a fortnight later, he wrote to his brother:

I recognize now that God has given him [Napoleon] the empire, indeed, the world. Nothing makes this more apparent than this war, which, conducted with inconceivable lack of foresight, has thrust a victory upon him that can only be compared with those ancient ones at Arbela and Zama. As long as the old, the untenable, the worn out had sooner or later to disappear, it is the greatest good fortune that the victory was given to him and to a nation that, more than others, has civilized values and respect for learning. . . . And just as Cicero, Livy, and Horace made no attempt to hide their former opposition from the victorious Caesar and Augustus, I have not concealed the fact that, although formerly of another party, or rather of a different point of view, I have willingly abandoned it, now that God has decided, and am prepared, if I cannot cooperate in the great world revolution, at least to describe it, wholly objectively. It is an inexpressibly exalting labor of the spirit to lift one's gaze from the ruins of defeated Europe to the vast interrelationship of universal history, to search for the causes of things, and with temerity to lift the veil a little that covers the probable future.⁵⁹

This was a reorientation with a vengeance, and it did not stop here. On November 15, 1806, Müller wrote to his friend Karl Theodor von Dalberg, former *Koadjutor* of Mainz. He repeated the argument and much of the text of his letter to his brother, spoke of Napoleon as "a Hero whose equal is not to be found in the memory of the centuries" and, knowing Dalberg's influence with Bonaparte, suggested that he deserved "un historien du genre antique; vous savez que j'appartiens à ces anciens siècles."⁶⁰ Dalberg was not unmindful of the historian's past services in Mainz. Five days later, after Napoleon had entered Berlin, Müller was given an audience with the conqueror.

We have only Müller's record of this meeting,⁶¹ and there is no reason to believe that it is any more accurate than his account of his audience with Frederick. It is clear enough, however, even from his description, that Napoleon, who, like other men of power, realized that intellectuals have their uses (since they, after all, create the Camelots of this world), deliberately set out to bedazzle Germany's greatest historian. He praised his works; he demonstrated his own interest in history by ranging freely over the centuries; and he did not neglect to underline his concern for Europe's liberties and his desire to protect them by imposing a universal federation upon the troubled continent. The Emperor succeeded in his purpose. Once again Müller was overwhelmed and enraptured by the aura of power.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 326.

⁵⁹ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXIII, 109.

⁶⁰ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 331.

⁶¹ Müller to his brother, Nov. 25, 1806, *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXIII, 111-14.

Since my audience with Frederick, I have never had a richer conversation . . . and I must, to be fair, admit the Emperor's superiority in depth and comprehensiveness of knowledge; Frederick was somewhat Voltairian. . . . It was one of the most remarkable days of my life. By his genius and his unconstrained kindness, he has conquered me.⁶²

He was, indeed, ready to give public testimony to the conquest, and on January 29, 1807, in the Berlin Academy, he did precisely that, by giving an address in French, "De la gloire de Frédéric," in which he contrasted the great King's glory with the abased state of his successors. Then, turning to the French officers sitting in the front rows, he cried: "Frédéric, tu verras la victoire et la grandeur et la puissance suivre toujours celui qui te ressemble le plus!"⁶³

To most of Müller's friends this was the ultimate betrayal. There were not many like Goethe, in whom political passion was not highly developed and who admired the address at the academy as an exercise in rhetoric and proceeded calmly to translate it into German.⁶⁴ The common reaction was that of Gentz, who broke off relations with Müller in a letter in which he said that his life was "a continual capitulation."⁶⁵ The historian had obviously made his position in Berlin untenable, and he cast about for new employment and was forced, most reluctantly, and only because he needed the money, to accept a chair at the University of Tübingen. "The whole world is changing," he wrote fretfully to his friend Dalberg. "It is a little sad to have to view it all from the corner of a college."⁶⁶ From this dismal prospect, he was, however, reprieved. His journey to Tübingen was interrupted by a messenger from Napoleon with an invitation to become Minister and First Secretary of State of Jerome, king of Westphalia.

And so, at long last, he had acquired a post worthy of his talents and of the perspective of a historian. Or had he? Once installed, he rapidly discovered that he had no real control over policy, which was made in Paris and carried out locally by imperial prefects. His position, although time-consum-

⁶² *Ibid.*, 113; see also Werner Kirchner, "Napoleons Unterredung mit Johannes von Müller," *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, XVI (1930), 108-20; and Heinz Gollwitzer, *Europabild und Europagedanke: Beiträge zur deutschen Geistesgeschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1964), 100.

⁶³ The address is found in *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXV, 274-85; and Müller, *Schriften in Auswahl*, 285-94.

⁶⁴ See Leitzmann, "Goethes Beziehungen," 508.

⁶⁵ Sweet, *Friedrich von Gentz*, 135-36. Adam Müller shared Gentz's opinion (*Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz*, ed. Wittichen, II, 416), but Alexander von Humboldt and Karl August Bötticher were sympathetic. (*Ibid.*, I, 213-14; Edgar Bonjour, *Studien zu Johannes von Müller* [Basel, 1957], 198.) One of the most balanced judgments of the address was that of Clausewitz. (See *Karl und Marie von Clausewitz: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen und Tagebuchblättern*, ed. Karl Linnebach [Berlin, 1917], 90-91.)

⁶⁶ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 364.

ing, was largely ceremonial.⁶⁷ In the mood of disenchantment that followed this discovery, he applied for a reduction of duties and was made Minister of Public Instruction. This was even worse; indeed, for a man who had always fled from involvement in the realities of academic life it was a crowning irony. Placed in a similar situation some years later, Wilhelm von Humboldt was to say that dealing with professors was like being the director of a company of traveling players.⁶⁸ Müller would have agreed. In his charge he had the professors of five universities, the instructional staffs of fifty *Gymnasien* and three thousand primary schools, and their student bodies. The professors, usually concerned only about promotions and salaries,⁶⁹ were developing more complicated grievances under French control, and the students were dangerously unpredictable. Müller had never felt easy with the young and in 1795 had written that "students think anything they do is permissible, and to me this attitude causes more concern than the weapons of the French."⁷⁰ Now their patriotic agitations threatened to turn those weapons against the freedom of the universities. In this situation, Müller's attempt to hold the middle line did not work. By discouraging all forms of political organization and activity in the universities, he sought to dissuade the French from their evident intention of closing down some of the university centers and centralizing the whole system of higher education in Westphalia. He succeeded neither in winning the support of the university communities nor in retaining that of the French. In May 1809 King Jerome, tired of his complaints about political interference, informed him that he did not "want any more scholars; [the University of] Halle should be burned down and the other university towns destroyed; all we want is soldiers and *Dummköpfe!*"⁷¹ Müller rose to the occasion. "Today," he wrote the King, "in announcing that you wanted only ignoramuses and that you reserved a funereal fate for the university towns, you offered me my dismissal. Your will is my command; I accept."⁷²

This gesture had no far-reaching effects. Napoleon, it is true, remembered the historian with whom he had talked in Berlin and wrote to Jerome: "I am annoyed that M. Müller is leaving you. The fact is that he was very flattered with his position, but I guess he was not given enough leeway to become happy with it."⁷³ The Emperor was really not very concerned. He had got

⁶⁷ Wehrle, *Geistige Entwicklung*, 238-39.

⁶⁸ *Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefe*, ed. Anna von Sydow (7 vols., Berlin, 1906-16), II, 19.

⁶⁹ Bonjour, *Studien*, 260-61.

⁷⁰ *Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, XXXI, 165.

⁷¹ Wehrle, *Geistige Entwicklung*, 239.

⁷² Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 417; see also *id.*, *Studien*, 281-98.

⁷³ *Correspondance de Napoléon I* (32 vols., Paris, 1858-69), XVI, 272.

what he wanted out of Müller, who had for a time lent a spurious air of respectability to the new regime in western Germany and could now be let go. No one else had much sympathy for the historian either or took much notice when, worn out by his frustrations, he became ill of erysipelas and died at the end of May 1809.

Two years before, on the road to Westphalia, Müller had written to his friend Dalberg:

I am coming down in the world, from the position of one who has the reputation of having done well in his profession to that of a secretary of state who deals with details and ends up by being disgraced. Why can't I remain a historian! There is always an overabundance of secretaries of state, but there have been whole centuries without a historian.⁷⁴

He went on his way, nevertheless, and, if we look beyond the element of personal vanity that always played an important part in his decisions, we can see that he did so because of his view of the demands of his profession. The first historian of the modern period to write history, not for scholars but, like the classical historians upon whom he modeled himself, for the nation, his purpose was always to inspire and instruct, to hold out examples that would help men lead better lives, and to give them guidance in their present perplexities;⁷⁵ his belief in the didactic purpose of history made it impossible for him to remain aloof from the great political questions of his day.

That Müller was ill-equipped for effective participation in politics the record of his junketing from court to court makes all too clear, and at bottom, I suppose, the reason was that he was a credulous man. In his archival research, which he loved with a passion that led him to say that he looked forward to death because it would open God's records to him, he was often so overwhelmed by the rapture of discovery that his critical faculties were immobilized. This capacity for simple wonder is, indeed, one of the most endearing qualities of Müller the historian, but it is clear that it was a grave impediment for Müller the man of politics. But here too we must be cautious in our judgment. Wilhelm Dilthey once wrote, in an early essay, that "the historians of a nation stand in a more direct relationship to its political life than any other group of pure intellectuals."⁷⁶ In an age in which all verities were challenged,

⁷⁴ Müller, *Briefe*, ed. Bonjour, 366. Compare Rahel Varnhagen's formulation, in a letter of November 30, 1819, to Karl Gustav von Brinckmann: "Unter andern sind manche von unsern Freunden Staatsminister geworden, vergass ich Ihnen zu sagen: und das ist auch eine Art von Tod." (*Rahel Varnhagen im Umgange mit ihren Freunden: Briefe, 1793-1833*, ed. Friedhelm Kemp [Munich, 1967], 116.)

⁷⁵ See his own statement in the conclusion of *Vier-und-zwanzig Bücher allgemeiner Geschichten in Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke*, ed. Müller, VI, 350-51.

⁷⁶ Dilthey, "Deutsche Geschichtsschreiber," 246.

in which political legitimacy had all but disappeared, in which universal monarchy and universal catastrophe seemed equally possible, Johannes von Müller had the misfortune of living in a land that was bereft either of an accepted historical tradition or a common body of political experience that could supply it with guides to action. It is surely not surprising that, in his attempts to prepare himself to be the preceptor of the German people, he should have reflected all of its inadequacies and ambivalences in face of the crisis with which it was confronted; nor is it unworthy of note that his own pathetic search for a hero prefigured the most salient characteristic of its political immaturity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Beginnings of the Cortes of León-Castile

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

THE origin and development of the Cortes of León-Castile, while reflecting the unique conditions of life in the Iberian Peninsula, also exemplify a phenomenon characteristic of all of Western Europe during the High Middle Ages: the rise of representative institutions. In that sense, Spain, far from being an extension of Africa, was an integral part of Europe and a participant in a common European experience. Indeed, by the very appearance of townsmen in the Leonese royal council at a remarkably early date in the late twelfth century, Spain holds a special place in the history of medieval parliamentary government. Whereas parliaments and assemblies of estates were just beginning to function in England and France by the close of the thirteenth century, the Cortes had anticipated these developments by many years. In large measure the rise of the Cortes to prominence in the public life of León-Castile is explained by the continual struggle against Islam and the concomitant task of colonizing reconquered lands. These circumstances strengthened the royal power and retarded the development of feudalism, while fostering the growth of municipalities directly dependent upon the crown. The emergence of the municipalities as significant factors in the military and administrative structure of the realm was a major reason for summoning townsmen to the council.

In spite of current interest in the concept of representation and the growth of representative assemblies, the study of the medieval Cortes has been largely neglected.¹ The formative period in the history of the Cortes—the late

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¹ Numerous studies of representative assemblies have been presented to the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. Antonio Marongiu, in a survey written in conjunction with Helen Maud Cam and Gunther Stökl, "Recent Work and Present Views on the Origins and Development of Representative Assemblies," *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (6 vols., Florence, 1955), I, 58–63, commented on the scanty number of studies dealing with the Cortes and emphasized the need for critical investigations of early Spanish assemblies. In his book *Il Parlamento in Italia nel medio evo e nell'età moderna: Contributo alla Storia delle istituzioni parlamentari dell'Europa occidentale* (Milan, 1962) he has reviewed the growth of representative institutions in Western

twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries—has not received the attention it deserves, and yet it is particularly important in showing the transition from a royal council attended by bishops and nobles to an assembly in which representatives of the towns also were present.² This article undertakes a review of royal assemblies held during the years 1188–1250 to determine when the townsmen were summoned and to illustrate the extent of continuity in the early development of the Cortes. Although the functions of the Cortes and the prerogatives of the members were not fully articulated during this time, a tradition was beginning to take shape: by the middle of the thirteenth century the Cortes was a familiar institution collaborating with the king and having great possibilities for development as an instrument of constitutional government.

One should logically seek the origins of the medieval Cortes in the extraordinary sessions of the royal council in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Numerous documents of the period reveal a small council of nobles working with the king in the day-to-day business of government; royal charters certify repeatedly that the king acted “with the counsel of the counts and princes,” “of the nobles,” “of my barons,” “of the chief men of my *curia*,” and so forth.³ From time to time the sovereign convened the council in extraordinary or plenary session, *in curia plena*, as the documents sometimes express it. On such occasions the chief men of the realm—the members of the royal family, palatine officials, nobles, and bishops—were summoned. Documentary evidence relating to these assemblies is frequently scanty and may consist only of a notation in a royal charter indicating that an assembly was held. But it is often difficult to determine the purposes of a given meeting or the personages in attendance.⁴

Europe and has devoted a section (pp. 103–25) to the assemblies of León, Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. It is rather surprising that he does not seem to be familiar with the several studies of Claudio Sánchez Albornoz touching on problems concerning the origin of the Cortes.

² Many of the records relating to the Cortes have been published by the *Real Academia de la Historia* in *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla* (5 vols., Madrid, 1861–1903), though the value of this collection for the present study is limited. Modern works treating the Cortes include: Francisco Martínez Marina *Teoría de las cortes o grandes juntas nacionales de los reinos de León y Castilla* (3 vols., Madrid, 1813); Manuel Colmeiro, *Introducción a las Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla* (2 vols., Madrid, 1883–84); R. B. Merriman, “The Cortes of the Spanish Kingdoms in the Later Middle Ages,” *American Historical Review*, XVI (Apr. 1911), 476–95, relying heavily on Colmeiro; and Wladimir Piskorski, *Las Cortes de Castilla en el período de tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna 1188–1520*, tr. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (Barcelona, 1930). Piskorski’s book, originally published in Russian in 1897, is still the most intelligent study of the Cortes, though it does not deal with the formative period which is the subject of this article.

³ For documentation, see the several studies of Julio González, *Regesta de Fernando II* (Madrid, 1943), *Alfonso IX* (2 vols., Madrid, 1944), *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII* (3 vols., Madrid, 1960).

⁴ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, in *La curia regia portuguesa: Siglos XII y XIII* (Madrid, 1920),

In the early centuries of the reconquest the royal council treated both secular and ecclesiastical affairs. These dual concerns are revealed in the decrees promulgated by Alfonso V in the council of León about 1017 and by Fernando I in the council of Coyanza around 1055.⁵ When Alfonso VII convened a council at León in 1135 to celebrate his coronation as emperor of Spain, one day was devoted to discussion of "those things that . . . are convenient for the salvation of the souls of all men" and another day to "those things that pertain to the welfare of the kingdom of all Spain. . . ."⁶ In the later twelfth century, as a result of the reform of the Church, the royal council seldom touched directly on ecclesiastical matters which henceforth were resolved ordinarily in the more frequently assembled Church councils.

With the separation of León and Castile after the death of Alfonso VII in 1157 the bishops and nobles of each kingdom usually attended the extraordinary meetings of the royal council convened by their respective sovereigns. In November 1169, for example, Alfonso VIII of Castile attained his majority and held the first *curia* of his reign at Burgos "with the counsel of the prelates of holy Church and the princes of our kingdom."⁷ In the following year his uncle, Fernando II of León, convoked his *curia* at Táy. At first glance this would seem to have been an exceptional assembly, as the text indicates that the King sought the advice of *boni homines, pontifices, milites, and burghenses*.⁸ Manuel Fernández argued that this marked the first intervention of procurators representing the towns in the royal council; both Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Nilda Guglielmi were inclined initially to agree. Lately, however, Sánchez Albornoz has pointed out that the text was tampered with around 1228 and therefore is of dubious value.⁹ In any case the document

has written a perceptive essay showing the relationship between the Leonese *curia* and the Visigothic *officium palatinum* and the councils of Toledo. His disciple, Nilda Guglielmi, has produced an extensive study in two parts dealing with the ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the royal council: "La curia regia en León y Castilla," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, XXIII-XXIV (1955), 116-267; XXVIII (1958), 43-101. Marongiu (*Parlamento*, 30), challenging the notion of the *curia plena* and questioning its importance, apparently is not acquainted with these studies.

⁵ *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, I, 1-25; Luis Vázquez de Parga, "El fuero de León," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, XV (1944), 464-98; Alfonso García Gallo, "El Concilio de Coyanza," *ibid.*, XX (1950), 275-633.

⁶ *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, ed. Luis Sánchez Belda (Madrid, 1950), 54-57. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, in *¿Burgueses en la curia regia de Fernando II de León?* (Coimbra, 1964), 12-13, while admitting that there is no documentary evidence for the presence of townsmen at this assembly, suspects that they were there; he cites, in support of his opinion, a passage in the chronicle in which the King ordered the *alcaldes* of Toledo and other inhabitants of Extremadura to wage war against the Muslims. Even though the *alcaldes* may have been present at the assembly, it should be pointed out that they were military commanders appointed by the King and not representatives elected by the townsmen.

⁷ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, Nos. 124-26, pp. 211-15.

⁸ *España Sagrada: Teatro geográfico-histórico de la iglesia de España*, ed. Enrique Flórez (51 vols., Madrid, 1754-79), XXII, 282.

⁹ Manuel Fernández, "La entrada de los representantes de la burguesía en la curia regia

does not mention procurators, and Fernández' use of that term is unwarranted. Since the matter under discussion was the relocation of Táy to a safer and more defensible site, it seems likely that the "good men" and "burghers" whom the King consulted were the inhabitants of Táy who would be immediately affected by his decision. The question was not of such magnitude as to require the summoning of representatives from all the towns of the realm; if the King wanted to discuss matters touching the whole kingdom it seems improbable that he would select Táy, a town at the most westerly extreme of the kingdom, not far from the Atlantic Ocean, as the place of meeting. Any other town would have been far more convenient for such a purpose.

In January 1178, after the fall of Cuenca, Alfonso VIII held a *curia* at Burgos,¹⁰ and in September Fernando II convened a *concilium generale* at Salamanca. In attendance were the bishops and abbots, the counts and barons, and the governors of provinces.¹¹ The townsmen are not mentioned in any of the texts relative to the assembly at Salamanca, and yet one would think that if they had been summoned to Táy in 1170 they would certainly have been summoned to Salamanca in 1178. Apparently they were not. Nor do they appear to have attended the *curia* held by Fernando II at Benavente in 1181¹² nor the council of Alfonso VIII at Medina de Rioseco one year later.¹³

The summoning of townsmen to the royal council may have occurred in Castile in 1187 and certainly in León in 1188. A brief exposition of the growth and development of the towns in León and Castile will aid us in understanding these comparatively early dates. By the middle of the twelfth century, as a result of the reconquest and repopulation of reconquered lands, many highly organized municipalities or *concejos* had developed, especially in the regions between the Duero and the Tagus Rivers. Among the more important were Salamanca, Avila, Cuéllar, Valladolid, Segovia, Ledesma, Alba, Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Madrid, Guadalajara, Soria, Sigüenza, Osma, and

leonesa," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, XXVI (1956), 757-66; Guglielmi, "Curia regia en León y Castilla," 77; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (2 vols., Buenos Aires, 1962), II, 81, and *¿Burgueses en la curia regia de Fernando II de León?* 22-30.

¹⁰ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, Nos. 296-97, pp. 485-87.

¹¹ *España Sagrada*, ed. Flórez, XVIII, 356-59; XLI, 330-33; González, *Regesta de Fernando II*, 122-23, 459; *Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo*, ed. Santos García Larragueta (Oviedo, 1962), Nos. 193-94, pp. 468-70; *id.*, "La Orden de San Juan en la crisis del imperio hispánico del siglo XII," *Hispania*, XII (No. 49, 1952), 516-17. By suggesting that *institutiones terre* might have been representatives of the towns, Sánchez Albornoz (*España*, II, 81, and *¿Burgueses en la curia regia de Fernando II de León?* 14) mistakenly interprets this passage: "quando rex Fernandus habuit curiam suam in Salamantica cum episcopis et baronibus regni sui et institutiones terre sue per decreta sua firmiter ordinavit." The sentence means that the King, meeting with his bishops and barons, set in order the institutions of his kingdom.

¹² González, *Regesta de Fernando II*, No. 41, pp. 305-307, 475.

¹³ *Id.*, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, No. 398, p. 687.

Toledo. In the early thirteenth century the great Muslim cities south of the Tagus, including Badajoz, Mérida, Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville, were also conquered. The men who colonized these frontier zones were freemen, independent of every lord except the king; as militia forces they rendered extremely valuable services in the reconquest. Some of them were fortunate enough to acquire horses and to be able to serve on horseback in time of war. They constituted a class of nonnoble knights or urban cavalry (*caballeros villanos*) and in the course of time came to dominate the government of the towns.¹⁴

The towns of Extremadura, Old Castile, New Castile, and Andalusia were, in general, organized on similar lines. The municipality included an urban nucleus and an extensive rural district dotted with villages in juridical and economic dependence upon it. Although some towns such as Compostela, Túc, Orense, Lugo, and Palencia were held as lordships by their bishops, the great towns such as Burgos, Toledo, Salamanca, and Seville depended directly upon the king who granted them significant rights of self-government.¹⁵ The chief organ of government was the *concilium* or *concejo*; this assembly of the adult male inhabitants met at regular intervals to deal with the essential affairs of the community and to elect its own officials. These included a *judex* or *juez* and several *alcaldes* (magistrates) chosen annually.¹⁶ By virtue of their charters (*fueros*) the *concejos* were officially constituted entities of public law and administration, with common rights and interests and a true consciousness of their identity.¹⁷ They could buy and sell property, receive it as gifts, or give it away. By the early thirteenth century they were beginning to use seals to authenticate such transactions; the seal symbolized the corporate character of the *concejo*.¹⁸

¹⁴ Sánchez Albornoz, *España*, II, 7-104, *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966); *La reconquista y la repoblación del país* (Zaragoza, 1951); Luis G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España* (2d ed., 1 vol. in 2 pts., Madrid, 1955), I, Pt. 2, 59-80, 456-98; Carmela Pescador, "La caballería popular en León y Castilla," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, XXXIII-XXXIV (1961), 101-238; XXXV-XXXVI (1962), 56-201.

¹⁵ Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas de los reinos de Castilla, León, Corona de Aragón y Navarra* (Madrid, 1847); J. M. Font Rius, "Les villes dans l'Espagne au Moyen Âge: Histoire de leurs institutions administratives et judiciaires," *La Ville. Première Partie. Institutions administratives et judiciaires* (Brussels, 1954), 263-95.

¹⁶ Valdeavellano, *Historia*, I, Pt. 2, 476-88, and *Sobre los burgos y los burgueses de la España medieval* (Madrid, 1960); Rafael Gibert, *El concejo de Madrid* (Madrid, 1949), and *Estudio histórico-jurídico*, in *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, ed. Emilio Sáez (Segovia, 1953), 339-569; María del Carmen Carlé, *Del concejo medieval castellano-leonés* (Buenos Aires, 1968).

¹⁷ Many royal charters, found throughout the diplomatic collections in González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII and Alfonso IX*, are addressed to "universo concilio," "toti concilio," "universitati concilio de Legione," or record acts "cum consensu et voluntate concilii," or "cum voluntate et beneplacito totius concilii." A charter of 1203 refers to the *communis utilitas* of the *concejo* of Toledo.

¹⁸ Julio González, "Los sellos concejiles de España en la edad media," *Hispania*, V (No. 20, 1945), 339-84, notes that the oldest examples of municipal seals extant date from the first third of the thirteenth century. Among others he illustrates the seal of León for 1214.

Concejos also engaged in litigation with one another, with bishops, monasteries, and military orders, usually concerning boundaries, rights of jurisdiction, and the like. In these instances they had to designate persons to represent them and to defend their interests. A number of twelfth-century charters referring to litigation involving *concejos* do not specify how they were represented, but simply record that they made certain allegations.¹⁹ In a few cases (1172, 1184, and 1207) disputes were resolved by means of a duel fought by persons acting for their *concejos*.²⁰ From time to time one also finds references to *advocati* or *voceros* who acted as spokesmen for *concejos* in the royal court; apparently they were men with something more than an amateur's knowledge of law and judicial procedure.²¹ Other documents mentioning individuals who spoke "pro parte concilii" or "vice atque nomine totius concilii" may refer to advocates or perhaps to the elected magistrates of the towns.²²

Probably the *alcaldes* appeared most often on behalf of their towns in the royal court or in other judicial tribunals. Certain *fueros* authorized them to participate in juntas or assemblies of men from neighboring towns to settle lawsuits between towns. The *fuero* of Salamanca, for example, stated that the *concejo* should send two *alcaldes* and an undetermined number of good men (*boni homines*) to the junta, and their travel expenses should be provided.²³ The term "good men" is broad and often appears in inquisitions

¹⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, Nos. 461, 557, pp. 791, 956; III, No. 1029, pp. 766–68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, Nos. 169, 429, pp. 286, 741; III, No. 807, p. 416.

²¹ In 1186 an *advocatus* defended the *concejo* of Mayorga before the royal court in a suit against the abbot of Sahagún. (González, *Regesta de Fernando II*, No. 57, pp. 334–35.) The *fueros* mention the *vocero* who speaks on behalf of another in court, and the *fueros* of Salamanca and Coria both refer to *voceros del concejo*, who appear to be advocates officially designated by the *concejo*, but whether they acted for the *concejo* in litigation is not clear. (See *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, ed. Américo Castro and Federico de Onís [Madrid, 1916], 160; *El fuero de Coria*, ed. José Maldonado and Emilio Sáez [Madrid, 1949], 76–77; *Fuero de Guadalajara*, ed. Hayward Keniston [reprint, New York, 1965], 3; *El fuero de Madrid*, ed. Galo Sánchez [Madrid, 1963], 51, 56.)

²² For examples of 1196, 1214, and 1217, see González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, Nos. 653, 922, pp. 157, 611; and *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña*, ed. Juan del Alamo (2 vols., Madrid, 1950), II, No. 409, p. 504.

²³ See *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, ed. Castro and Onís, 138, 165, 181, 236, 313, 328; and *Fuero de Coria*, ed. Maldonado and Sáez, 69. For juntas held in 1166, 1209, and 1211, see González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, No. 83, p. 141; III, Nos. 858, 882, pp. 506–507, 541–46. The *fuero* of Cáceres 1229, published in *id.*, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 596, p. 692, refers to the junta; in *El fuero de Cuenca*, ed. Rafael Ureña (Madrid, 1935), 855, there is mention of a junta of all the *concejos* of Extremadura at Sepúlveda about 1249. Juntas were gatherings of towns for judicial purposes; they were not *hermandades* or associations of towns bound by a pledge of friendship. The texts of *hermandades* dated about 1200 and linking Avila, Escalona, Plasencia, and Segovia have been published by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Carta de hermandad entre Plasencia y Escalona," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, III (1926), 503–508; Teodoro Ruíz Jusué, "Las cartas de hermandad en España, *ibid.*, XV (1944), 387–463; and Luis Suárez Fernández, "Evolución histórica de las hermandades castellanas," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, XVI (1951), 6–78.

(*inquisitio, inquisa, pesquisa*) carried out by royal agents who summoned *boni homines* from a town to give pertinent information under oath.²⁴ It seems reasonable to conclude that *boni homines* sent by a *concejo* to act on its behalf in a court of law were the most important or most illustrious men; the *fueros* indicate that these were the *alcaldes* and others drawn from the ranks of the *caballeros villanos*.²⁵

In the early thirteenth century, as a consequence of the revival of Roman law, which undoubtedly constituted a branch of study in the newly founded Universities of Palencia and Salamanca,²⁶ the *concejos* began to adopt the system of proctorial representation. Gaines Post has raised the fundamental question of whether the representatives sent by the towns to the earliest Cortes were procurators endowed with *plena potestas*. To my knowledge, his studies are unknown to those Spanish historians who have touched on this point; they have assumed that the representatives of the towns in these early assemblies were indeed procurators as they were in the fourteenth century.

²⁴ There are numerous documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries describing the summoning of *boni homines, probi homines*, and so forth to participate in royal inquisitions. (See Joaquín Cerradá Ruiz-Funes, "En torno a la pesquisa y procedimiento inquisitivo en el derecho castellano-leonés de la edad media," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, XXXII [1962], 483-518; Evelyn Procter, *The Judicial Use of Pesquisa (Inquisition) in León and Castille, 1157-1369*, *English Historical Review*, Suppl. 2 [London, 1966].)

²⁵ The *fueros* of Salamanca and Coria cited in note 23, above, do indeed speak of *caballeros* going to the junta.

²⁶ C. M. Ajo y Sáinz de Zuñiga, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas* (7 vols. to date, Madrid, 1957-), I, 195-201, 435-36, points out that both universities antedate 1200, and he publishes letters of Honorius III referring to the study of law at the University of Palencia. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. VII, Chap. xxxiv, in *Hispaniae Illustratae seu Rerum Urbiumque Hispaniae, Lusitaniae, Aethiopiae et Indiae Scriptores Varii*, ed. Andreas Schott (4 vols., Frankfurt a. M., 1603-1609), II, 126, notes that Alfonso VIII summoned "sapientes a Galliis et Italia . . . et magistros omnium facultatum Palentiae congregavit." Lucas of Túy, *Crónica de España*, ed. Julio Puyol (Madrid, 1926), 422, indicates that Alfonso IX called "maestros muy sabios en las sanctas escripturas" to Salamanca. Among those who probably helped to introduce the concepts of Roman and canon law into Castilian usage one can cite Peter of Cardona, a Catalan, who taught at Montpellier, then served as chancellor of Castile from 1178 to 1182 and as abbot of Husillos in Palencia until Alexander III named him a cardinal. (See *Dictionnaire du Droit Canonique* [7 vols., Paris, 1935-65], VI, col. 1473; and F. Valls Taberner, "Le juriste catalan Pierre de Cardona," *Mélanges Paul Fournier* [Paris, 1929], 743-46.) The presence of *magistri* of Italian origin in the royal court and in posts such as that of archdeacon of Palencia about 1200 suggests that Roman and canon law were probably subjects of study at the universities. These *magistri* include the royal notary and archdeacon of Palencia, Magister Geraldus (1184) also called Geraldus Lombardus; Magister Lanfrancus, canon of Palencia (1200); and Magister Michael *legum doctor* (1203). (González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, I, 626-35, and *Alfonso IX*, I, 453-60.) In the early thirteenth century the noted canonist, Laurentius Hispanus, after teaching at Bologna, returned to Spain where he served as *magister scholarum* at Orense until his election as bishop of that see in 1218; he held the bishopric until his death in 1248. (Antonio García García, *Laurentius Hispanus: Datos biográficos y estudio crítico de sus obras* [Rome, 1956]; see also Javier Ochoa Sanz, *Vincentius Hispanus: Canonista boloñés del siglo XIII* [Rome, 1960].) The use of the books of Roman and canon law in the late twelfth century is indicated by several wills. (See Isafas da Rosa Pereira, "Livros de direito na Idade Média," *Lusitania Sacra*, VII [1964-66], 7-60. Guglielmi ["Curia regia en León y Castilla," 148-49] comments briefly on the introduction of Roman law into the peninsula and notes the appearance of *iurisperiti* at the Leonese court in 1219. González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 383, p. 497.)

Post, following Manuel Colmeiro, concludes, however, that there is "no clear evidence of corporate, proctorial representation until 1305."²⁷ Taking up his challenge, Evelyn Procter has shown that the towns were represented by procurators in the royal court at least from the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁸

The use of procurators by ecclesiastical institutions was becoming common in the early thirteenth century, and in the minority of Enrique I of Castile (1214-1217) the government was entrusted to Alvaro Núñez de Lara with the title *procurator regis et regni*.²⁹ A few years later the distinguished noble Pedro Fernández, before departing for the Holy Land, designated a procurator in the king's court and declared that he would ratify (*ratum penitus habiturus*) whatever was done by his representative.³⁰ The earliest reference to this form of representation by a *concejo* is found in a text of 1223 in which the *concejo* of Compostela appointed a *personarius* to represent it in the royal court and an *advocatus* to argue its case. The text clearly distinguishes between the *personarius* and the *advocatus*.³¹ The term *personarius* or *personero* was the equivalent of procurator, as numerous legal texts such as the *Fuero Real* and the *Siete Partidas* make plain.³²

²⁷ Gaines Post, "Roman Law and Early Representation in Spain and Italy, 1150-1250," and "Plena Potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies," in *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), 61-160. Guglielmi ("Curia regia en León y Castilla") discusses representation by procurators at the royal court, but she is unaware of Post's articles; nor does Sánchez Albornoz appear to know them.

²⁸ Evelyn Procter, "The Towns of León and Castile as Suitors before the King's Court," *English Historical Review*, LXXIV (Jan. 1959), 1-22.

²⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, No. 981, p. 693. The bishop of Mondoñedo appears as procurator for the archbishop of Compostela in documents of 1165-1167. (*Id.*, *Regesta de Fernando II*, No. 13, pp. 258, 386-88.) In 1177 Henry II of England noted that the kings of Castile and Navarre who submitted their quarrels to his arbitration sent procurators and advocates to his court. (*Id.*, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, No. 279, p. 459.)

³⁰ Amancio Rodríguez, *El real monasterio de las Huelgas de Burgos y el Hospital del Rey* (2 vols., Burgos, 1907), I, No. 61, pp. 414-15. In a charter of May 27, 1222, Fernando III declared that Pedro Fernández "coram me constituit procuratorem super his quidquid faceret ratum penitus habiturus." The same text refers to the procurator of the monastery.

³¹ González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 426, pp. 542-43. On this occasion the canons of Compostela also appointed a *personarius* and an *advocatus*. Procter ("Towns of León and Castille," 3) holds that this is "something which appears to be true representation."

³² Jacopo Ruiz, tutor to Alfonso X, *Flores de las leyes*, tit. III: *De los personeros que son dichos en latin procuradores*, in *Memorial histórico español: Colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades que publica la Real Academia de la Historia* (49 vols., Madrid, 1851-1948), II, 180; *Fuero Real*, lib. I, tit. 7, ley 6: *como aquel que se dice procurador de otro debe mostrar la personería e poder*; tit. 10, leyes 1-15; *Siete Partidas*, *Tercera Partida*, tit. 2, ley 13; tit. 5, leyes 1-2; tit. 18, ley 98 (the text of a *carta de personería* for a *concejo*); *Leyes del Estilo*, leyes 8, 37, 166 (*personeros of concejos*); *Espéculo de las Leyes*, lib. IV, tit. 8. These texts are found in *Los códigos españoles*, ed. Antonio de San Martín (12 vols., Madrid, 1872-73), I, 311-14, 333, 358-61; III, 10, 65-66, 242; VI, 102. Post ("Roman Law and Early Representation," 67, n. 27) points out that there is a slight influence of the Roman law on procurators in the Visigothic code. The term procurator as used in the code seems to refer to an administrator of royal estates. In the Castilian translation of the code done on the orders of Fernando III, someone appearing in court on behalf of another is called a *personero*, a translation of the

During the ensuing twenty years other examples of proctorial representation appear. In 1225, for example, the *concejo* of Sotoavellanas was represented by a procurator.³³ Six years later the *concejo* of Belver sent good men (*bonos omnes*) with a letter of procuration (*con carta de procuración abierta et seellada*) to the king's court; in order that there not be any doubt about their legal status, the same document describes them as *procuradores*.³⁴ In 1248 Fernando III declared that if several *concejos* in Asturias had business at his court they should send their *personeros*.³⁵ In a suit before the royal tribunal in 1250 the *justicia* of Túy acted as *personero del concejo* and presented a letter in which the *concejo* affirmed that it would abide by whatever he did.³⁶ In the same year Moya sent *omes bonos con carta de personería* to the royal court while Astorga sent an *alcalde* and another person *con letras de personería*.³⁷ The *concejo* of Santiago dispatched *personeros con cartas de personería* "in which it was said that the *concejo* gave them full power [*lleno poder*] and that it would abide by whatever they did before me in this suit."³⁸ Finally, in the last year of Fernando III's reign, the *concejo* of Sigüenza was represented in his court by five *personeros*.³⁹

From the above it seems reasonable to conclude that at least from the second quarter of the thirteenth century *concejos* usually were represented in the royal court by procurators, even though the terms used most often to describe them were *personeros* or *omes bonos*. There are other texts, of course, from the same period that refer only to good men sent to the royal court without any indication whether they were procurators or whether they carried letters of procuration.⁴⁰ Even in these instances I believe that they were intended to

Latin *adsertor* or *persona*. (See *Fuero juzgo*, lib. II, tit. 1, ley 17, tit. 3, leyes 1, 5-10, in *Códigos españoles*, ed. San Martín, I, 6, 11, 113, 118-19.)

³³ *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña*, ed. Alamo, II, No. 439, p. 542.

³⁴ Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún* (Madrid, 1782), No. 234, pp. 585-86. In a suit between the abbey of Sahagún and the burghers of the *concejo* the "burgesses escogieron entre si algunos para enviar a Sevilla al rey don Fernando. . . ." The King then ordered the abbot to appear before him in person "o por sus suficientes procuradores." (*Ibid.*, 354.)

³⁵ Ciriaco Vigil, *Colección histórico-diplomática del ayuntamiento de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1889), 41.

³⁶ Miguel de Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias para la vida del santo rey don Fernando III* (Madrid, 1800), 519. The *justicia* appeared "con carta del concejo que estarie el concejo por quanto el ficiese ante mi." The *personeros* of the chapter of Túy also referred to themselves as *procuradores*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 512, 523.

³⁸ Antonio López Ferreiro, *Fueros municipales de Santiago y de su tierra* (Santiago, 1895), 216-18. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this is the first document that speaks of the *plena potestas* of representatives of a *concejo*. See also *ibid.*, 220, 225-26, 231-34.

³⁹ Toribio Minguella, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos* (3 vols., Madrid, 1910-13), I, No. 205, pp. 567-68.

⁴⁰ For example, the *concejos* of Alcabón and Maqueda were represented by *omes bonos* in the royal court in 1227, Oviedo in 1234, Alcaraz in 1243, and Jaén in 1251. (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos reales de la Orden de Calatrava, No. 61; Vigil, *Colección his-*

act as procurators. The idea of proctorial representation clearly was known to the royal court, and it was in the royal interest to foster its development as a more effective and binding form of representation. If judgments rendered in the king's court were not to be subject to challenge, it was essential that the parties give their representatives full power to act for them and to bind them by their actions.⁴¹ Thus it seems likely that once the king discovered the utility of requiring procurators from one *concejo*, he would be inclined to require them from all.

The question of representation of the towns in the royal court is directly related to the beginnings of the Cortes. As the name implies, the Cortes was the king's court, though in greatly expanded form, and as such it could act as a consultative body or as a tribunal of justice. The assembly of bishops, nobles, and townsmen provided the king with an opportunity not only to determine matters of public policy but also to adjudicate much litigation, especially that involving towns. The Cortes thus had a judicial character and function that should not be forgotten when one is inquiring into its origins.

With the foregoing considerations in mind I will resume the review of royal assemblies. As I have already noted, the Castilian towns may have been summoned for the first time to participate in the royal council, if only in a limited way, in 1187. In May of that year Alfonso VIII celebrated a *curia* at San Esteban de Gormaz to discuss with the envoy of Frederick Barbarossa the marriage of the Infanta Berenguela with the Emperor's son, Conrad of Hohenstaufen.⁴² The marriage contract, signed at Seligenstadt in April 1188, lists fifty of the chief towns of the realm whose *maiores* swore, together with the archbishop of Toledo, the bishops of Burgos, Calahorra, and Avila, and the princes and nobles, to observe the terms of the pact.⁴³ Although the con-

tórico-diplomática, No. 26, pp. 50-51; Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, 466-68, 525-27.) In other cases the King indicated only that he had summoned townsmen to appear in court. (Minguella, *Historia*, I, Nos. 192-93, pp. 553-56; Vigil, *Colección histórico-diplomática*, No. 14, p. 37.) Procter ("Towns of León and Castille," 5) believes that "when no names are given and there is no specific reference to a mandate the general nature of the term *buenos hombres* makes it impossible to deduce the status of the men referred to."

⁴¹ Numerous examples of *procuradores* or *personeros* with letters of procuration or *personería* from the towns to act for them in the court of Alfonso X (1252-1284) might be cited. I doubt that he or his father, Fernando III, would have received them if they did not have power to bind their constituents.

⁴² González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, No. 471, p. 808. Apparently neither Colmeiro, Post, Guglielmi, nor Procter knew of this *curia* whose existence has been established by the indefatigable research of González.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, No. 499, pp. 857-63; see Peter Rassow, *Der Prinzgemahl: Ein Pactum matrimoniale aus dem Jahre 1188* (Weimar, 1950). Sánchez Albornoz (*España*, II, 81) says "casi seguramente los procuradores" of the above towns attended the assembly at San Esteban; his use of the term procurators is not warranted by the text. He also suggests that delegates of the towns given as dowry to Berenguela were present, but he mistakenly identifies those towns with towns given by Alfonso VIII as dowry to Queen Eleanor, whose rights in her dower towns were specifically guaranteed in the marriage contract. It should be noted that the twenty-seven towns belonging to her are not included among those whose *maiores* swore to uphold the contract.

tract was dated in Germany, it obviously was prepared at San Esteban in 1187, and it is possible that the *maiores* of the towns were summoned to the *curia* to take the oath.

The assent of the towns was doubly important because Alfonso VIII lacked a male heir. He realized that the transferral of the kingdom to his daughter and a husband who was a foreigner was risky and, if it were to be carried off successfully, demanded the approval and support of all the major political forces in the realm. Thus the contract specifically declared that if the King should die before Conrad's arrival in Spain, the barons, princes, governors, cities, and masters of Calatrava and Santiago would be bound by oath to receive him and to surrender Berenguela and the kingdom to him. Thus the bishops, nobles, military orders, and townsmen were being called upon to give their express consent not only to the marriage but also to the eventual succession of Berenguela and Conrad to the throne of Castile. The gravity of the issue was such as to justify the summoning of the townsmen as well as the bishops and nobles, and yet the text is imprecise enough to permit one to assume that the *maiores* of the towns took the oath locally.⁴⁴

Post has asked whether the *maiores* were procurators with *plena potestas*. Sánchez Albornoz assumes they were although the text offers no clue in this regard.⁴⁵ They were not, as Colmeiro has suggested, royal *maiorini* or *merinos* responsible for administering justice in the towns.⁴⁶ Obviously the term *maiores* is to be translated as chief men, which is suggested by a charter of Alfonso VIII dated 1174 instructing the citizens of Toledo to send him ten of the *maiores civitatis* to inform him of any violations of the city's charter.⁴⁷ The *maiores* were the most prominent citizens or perhaps the *alcaldes* elected by the townsmen, but they were not officials appointed by the crown.

Early in the following year, probably in April 1188,⁴⁸ Alfonso IX of León

⁴⁴ Procter, "Towns of León and Castile," 17-18.

⁴⁵ Post, "Roman Law and Early Representation," 70-71; and Sánchez Albornoz, *España*, II, 81.

⁴⁶ Colmeiro (*Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 12-13) says the *maiores* were "jueces gobernadores de los pueblos llamados maiorini." He and others (for example, Marongiu, *Parlamento*, 107) have assumed that the *maiores* took the oath at Carrión in 1188, but the text indicates that they had already sworn, presumably at San Esteban in 1187.

⁴⁷ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, II, No. 197, pp. 326-27.

⁴⁸ Usually this assembly has been dated in July because at that time the King "with the common consent and counsel of the barons and of my *curia*" took measures against thieves. (*Id.*, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 12, pp. 27-28.) But González (*ibid.*, I, 46) believes that the *curia* was held in April because it was decided to review all the charters of Fernando II, and from April 29 to June 17 there are several documents confirming charters that Fernando II had given to bishoprics or monasteries. (*Ibid.*, II, Nos. 3-6, pp. 9-20.) Although the text of the decrees enacted in the *curia* of 1188 is undated, González has published it among the charters for June and July. (*Ibid.*, No. 11, pp. 23-26.) The convocation of the *curia* in April rather than July seems reasonable to me, inasmuch as the King had to take immediate steps to assert his authority against domestic enemies, recover royal rights and properties alienated by his father, and determine a policy toward Castile and Portugal. As González indicates, he probably

(1188–1230) convened a *curia* of extraordinary significance. He had come to power in trying circumstances after the death of his father, Fernando II, in January. His stepmother conspired to deprive him of the throne, and both Castile and Portugal assumed a hostile attitude. The nobility, especially in Galicia and Asturias, laid waste the countryside and committed other disorders. Through his father's prodigality, the resources of the crown were greatly depleted.⁴⁹ Faced with the critical problem of restoring order and affirming his authority, Alfonso IX summoned his council to meet in the cloister of San Isidro in León. The assembly was notable for the presence of the archbishop of Compostela, the bishops and magnates, and the "elected citizens of each city [*cum electis civibus ex singulis civitatibus*]."⁵⁰ Here for the first time is an unequivocal attestation of the presence of townsmen in a meeting of the royal council. We do not know how they were elected, nor how many came from each town, nor whether they were procurators with full powers, though this last seems unlikely. The numbers in attendance must have been quite large, although the reference to each city probably meant only those cities directly dependent upon the King and not cities or towns in the lordship of bishops.⁵¹

With considerable exaggeration various authors have hailed the decrees promulgated by Alfonso IX at this time as a Leonese Magna Carta.⁵² The comparison is not entirely appropriate since Alfonso IX was not a tyrannical king whom rebellious barons were attempting to subordinate to the law of the land; nor is there any evidence that his decrees ever attained an importance and prestige in public law comparable to those of Magna Carta. Unlike the English charter, the decrees of 1188 were not confirmed explicitly by

made a journey to Compostela to bury his father in late February or March and then summoned the *curia* to meet at León in April.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 43–60.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, No. 11, pp. 23–26. An undated letter to the archbishop of Compostela (*ibid.*, No. 662, pp. 737–38) also refers to the assembly, though not to the townsmen.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 339. Presumably towns such as Túa, Lugo, Compostela, and Orense, all in Galicia and all held as lordships by their bishops, were not summoned. This is the view of Piskorski (*Cortes de Castilla*, 35), but Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Señoríos y ciudades," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, VI (1929), 456–59, has questioned whether this was always true; he published a letter of the bishop of Orense, dated 1256, protesting Alfonso X's summons to the *concejo* of Orense requiring that three *omnes bonos* be sent to him to pledge homage to his daughter. As lord of the city the bishop regarded the summons as an infringement of his rights.

⁵² Amalio Marichalar and Cayetano Manrique, *Historia de la legislación y recitaciones del derecho civil de España* (9 vols., Madrid, 1861–72), II, 427–34, compare the texts of 1188 and Magna Carta and suggest that the English barons may have known Alfonso IX's decrees. See also Rafael Altamira, "Magna Carta and Spanish Medieval Jurisprudence," *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, ed. Henry Malden (New York, 1917), 227–43; Sánchez Albornoz, *España*, II, 82; I. A. Arias, "La carta magna leonesa," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, IX (1948), 147–53, a Castilian translation of the text. But see Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, I, Pt. 2, 579.

future monarchs upon accession to power, and later generations of Leonese or Castilians did not look back to the decrees of 1188 as the source of their liberties. On the other hand, Alfonso IX, like King John, acknowledged the existence of a body of law binding himself as well as his subjects. Swearing to observe the good customs established by his predecessors, he promised to administer justice impartially and not to act arbitrarily. He guaranteed a full and fair hearing in his court to anyone accused by another, and he promised to punish appropriately those who brought false accusations. No action would be initiated against the accused until he had been cited in writing to appear in court to be judged according to law. The security of persons and of property and the inviolability of the household also were guaranteed. He declared, finally, that he would not make "war or peace or treaty except with the counsel of the bishops, nobles, and good men [*boni homines*] by whose counsel I ought to be guided." Here, no doubt, he was thinking of the necessity to come to terms with his neighbors, Castile and Portugal. The bishops, nobles, and citizens swore to be faithful in counsel, in defending justice, and in preserving the peace of the realm. In a separate action the King undertook to review all his father's charters in order to recover royal rights and revenues that, through an excess of generosity, Fernando II had alienated.⁵³

The decrees of 1188 were not the consequence of the concerted action of a hostile aristocracy attempting to impose its will upon the King; nor were they an abject capitulation to the townsmen angered by the prevailing disorders.⁵⁴ They were, rather, proof of the King's determination to put an end to violence so that, in the words of Lucas of Túy, "he would be able to keep the kingdom in peace and justice."⁵⁵ Alfonso IX pledged to uphold the law, to do justice to everyman, to punish evildoers, and to recover what rightfully belonged to the crown. His summons to the townsmen was an attempt to demonstrate his resolution and to use their support to counterbalance a turbulent nobility and to establish himself firmly in power.⁵⁶

Although the townsmen were the principal beneficiaries of his pledge to restore order and tranquillity,⁵⁷ it is difficult to ascertain to what extent they

⁵³ González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 662, pp. 737-38.

⁵⁴ Marongiu (*Parlamento*, 30, 103, 105) suggests that the decrees of 1188 were not so much a spontaneous concession on the King's part as they were the result of the opposition of various political forces to the King. I do not share this opinion.

⁵⁵ Lucas of Túy (*Crónica de España*, ed. Puyol, 412) commented on the King's determination to repress evildoers.

⁵⁶ Sánchez Albornoz, *España*, II, 82. I believe that the initiative came from the King and that the texts do not justify our speaking of the townsmen as having extracted (*arrancado*) a declaration of liberties from him.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, I, Pt. 2, 579.

participated in the formulation of his decrees. The relevant texts speak of the presence of the citizens of each city, the King's promise not to make war or peace without the counsel of bishops, nobles, and good men, and their oath to guard the peace of the realm. While the townsmen may have been consulted, it does not seem likely that they participated continuously and on an equal footing with the bishops and nobles in the deliberations that preceded the promulgation of the decrees.⁵⁸

Probably as a direct consequence of the assembly, Alfonso IX set out to establish peaceful relations with Castile. After an interview with Alfonso VIII at Sotohermoso in May, he agreed to become his vassal and to marry one of his daughters. In June 1188 Alfonso VIII convoked a *curia* at Carrión and bestowed the order of knighthood upon the King of León, who kissed his hand as a sign of vassalage "in the presence of the Galicians, the Leonese, and the Castilians." In July Conrad of Hohenstaufen arrived at Carrión and also received knighthood and was betrothed to the Infanta Berenguela, who was about eight years old. The well-informed author of the *Latin Chronicle* stated that the whole kingdom of Castile pledged homage to Conrad, who would reign with Berenguela should Alfonso VIII die without a son. Although the texts do not specify whether representatives of the towns were present at Carrión, there is a strong possibility that they were summoned to offer homage to the newly betrothed pair.⁵⁹ Perhaps it is at this time that one may find the beginnings of that *consuetudo Ispanie* referred to by Alfonso X in 1255 when he declared that the prelates, magnates, and procurators of the towns should be summoned to pledge their allegiance to the heir to the throne.⁶⁰

In the years immediately following, notices of meetings of the great council and of the participation of townsmen are uncertain. A constitution of Alfonso VIII guaranteeing the peace and security of the Church most likely was promulgated in such an assembly in 1191.⁶¹ The same may be said of the

⁵⁸ An undated letter to the archbishop of Compostela (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 662, pp. 737-38) refers to the *curia* and the attendance of bishops and nobles, but not of the townsmen.

⁵⁹ *Chronique latine des rois de Castille jusqu'en 1236*, ed. Georges Cirot (Bordeaux, 1913), Chap. xi, 39-40. Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. VII, Chap. xxiv, 123; Lucas of Túy, *Crónica de España*, ed. Puyol, 406; *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (2 vols., Madrid, 1955), II, Chap. cmxcvii, 677. Returning from Carrión, Alfonso IX probably met with his barons, and perhaps with the bishops as well, at León in July to report upon the recent *curia* and to take measures against thieves and other evildoers. He declared that he did so "de communi omnium consensu" and "communi assensu et consilio baronum et curie mee." (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 12, p. 27.) This phraseology is too vague to be taken as evidence of a meeting of a *curia plena*.

⁶⁰ Piskorski, *Cortes de Castilla*, 196-97.

⁶¹ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, No. 570, pp. 18-19. The document does not refer to a meeting of the royal council, but in view of his presence in Palencia from March through May when he promulgated the constitution, a meeting seems likely. Perhaps he also convened an assembly to recognize his son Fernando, born in November

constitutions redacted by Alfonso IX at León in September 1194 and promulgated in a council at Compostela on October 22.⁶² Addressing himself to all the prelates and princes of his kingdom and to all the people, he noted that in 1188 he had reformed the *status regni*, but of late the observance of his decrees had been neglected; "with common deliberation," therefore, he enacted new decrees concerning the administration of justice, the rights of the Church, and the punishment of thieves and robbers, and he ordered their enforcement throughout the realm. Although one may assume that the bishops and nobles attended these assemblies, in no instance is there any specific reference to the presence of townsmen.

Several years later, however, on March 11, 1202, Alfonso IX convened a *plena curia* at Benavente, attended by bishops, royal vassals, "and many men from each town of my kingdom."⁶³ Here again is certain evidence of the presence of representatives of the towns in the great council, but there is no way of knowing how they were chosen or what powers they had received.

In the charter issued at this time the King gave much attention to the conditions on which persons held lands of the Church,⁶⁴ but the most signif-

1189, as heir to the throne, but I have found no trace of it. Nor do I find evidence of an assembly held at Carrión either in 1192, 1193, or 1194 to prepare for the resumption of warfare against the infidels. (See Colmeiro, *Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 141.)

⁶² González, *Alfonso IX*, II, Nos. 84-85, pp. 125-29. González (*ibid.*, I, 241) suggests that the King held a *curia plena* in November 1190, but the document (*ibid.*, II, No. 38, pp. 63-64) on which he based his opinion refers only to "consilio tocius curie mee," a formula found in many other documents and that, in my view, usually means only the small council. Perhaps he summoned an assembly at Christmas 1197 to acknowledge his new queen, Berenguela of Castile, whom he had married at Valladolid on December 8. (Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. VII, Chap. xxxi, 125; and *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, Chap. miv, 163.) González (*Alfonso IX*, I, 108, 334) also refers to a council held at Salamanca in June-July 1201, but his evidence is a document recording a judgment given *in curia mea*, a formula that I believe refers only to the small council. (*Ibid.*, II, No. 158, pp. 221-22.)

⁶³ *Ibid.*, No. 167, pp. 236-37. Thus far only one document from this *curia* has been discovered.

⁶⁴ As Sánchez Albornoz (*España*, II, 84) has pointed out, the nobles and clergy obtained a detailed regulation of royal rights in lands that nobles held as benefices of the Church or that the clergy held of the nobles. The King declared that judges were chosen in the *curia* to give judgment in the suit between himself and the *militēs et alii*. The sentence provided that the law applicable to estates owned by the nobles should also apply to estates that they held of bishops or abbots "in vita sua per capitulum dum illam tenuerint"; that the law applicable to estates owned by citizens or burghers or others who were not nobles should also apply to estates that they held of the Church; that the authority of the crown (*uox regis*) should have the same force in estates held as benefices (*in prestimonium, uidelicet ad tempus uel in pignus*) of the Church, as in other Church lands; that the law applicable to the estates of nobles should also apply to any such estate that a cleric might hold as a benefice (*in pignus uel prestimonium ad tempus*); that if anyone holding an estate of the Church should incur the wrath of the king and be exiled on that account, the estate should revert to the Church, but the king should have the rents of the estate each year until the death or reconciliation of the exiled person; that property that a cleric had as his own inheritance or that he acquired through purchase should not be treated as Church property until he freely and absolutely gave it to the Church. For detailed consideration of these problems, see Luis G. de Valdeavellano, "El prestimonio," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, XXV (1955), 5-122; and Hilda Grassotti, "Apostillas a El Prestimonio de Valdeavellano," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, XXIX-XXX (1959), 167-217. Marongiu (*Parlamento*, 106-107) observes that "we know

icant part of the text relates to the sale of the royal coinage. In this Sánchez Albornoz finds confirmation of his contention that the townsmen were summoned to the king's council primarily to assist the crown by voting subsidies to meet the rising costs of the reconquest and of public administration. The tributes due from the *concejos* traditionally were fixed by their *fueros* and could not be changed without their consent. In the course of the twelfth century the king began to collect an extraordinary aid called *petitum*, a name implying that it was granted upon his request, though there is no evidence as to the manner in which the towns consented to it. Probably the request was made to them individually rather than in an assembly. By the end of the century this sum tended to be a fixed annual payment, but frequent exemptions reduced its value for the king's purposes.⁶⁵ In his search for new sources of revenue, therefore, the king hit upon the expedient of debasing the coinage. But debasement could cause economic distress through inflation and a rise in prices. In order to avert such a crisis the towns purchased the king's right to coin money whenever he pleased, that is, they offered him a subsidy, a new tax, which came to be known as *moneda forera*.⁶⁶

This procedure was first described in the *curia* of Benavente in 1202. The text records that the King sold his coinage for a term of seven years to the people inhabiting the lands from the Duero to the sea and throughout Extremadura, for one maravedi payable by each person.⁶⁷ Recognizing the possibility that the King might debase the coinage at the end of seven years, the *curia* stipulated that he should not be obliged to sell the coinage against his will; nor should his subjects be compelled to buy it. The sale and purchase could only be effected by the mutual agreement of the parties. In that

little or nothing" of the assembly of 1202. He appears not to be familiar with the text just described and Sánchez Albornoz' discussion of this assembly.

⁶⁵ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas para el estudio del *petitum*," in *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas* (México, D. F., 1965), 483-520. He traces the *petitum* to Alfonso VI's request for an extraordinary subsidy in 1091 to meet the threat of the Almoravids. In return he granted the requests of the Christians of León concerning procedures to be used in litigation with the Jews; apparently only the nobles were summoned to consent to this tribute. For the text, see Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y Castilla* (Madrid, 1919), 36-39. Juan Beneyto Pérez, *Historia de la administración española e hispano-americano* (Madrid, 1958), 169-70, does not accept Sánchez Albornoz' thesis.

⁶⁶ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "La primitiva organización monetaria de León y Castilla," in *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, 471-77. Around 1175 Alfonso VIII began to coin gold maravedis at Toledo in imitation of the coinage of the Muslim king of Murcia; the kings of León and Portugal soon followed suit. (See Antonio Vives, *La moneda castellana* [Madrid, 1901], 13-17; Alois Heiss, *Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas* [3 vols., Zaragoza, n.d.], I, 28; and Octavio Gil Farrés, *Historia de la moneda española* [Madrid, 1959], 198-99.) In a charter of 1182 granting the see of Santiago half the profits of the coinage there, Fernando II referred to the possibility of devaluation. (Antonio López Ferreiro, *Historia de la santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* [11 vols., Santiago, 1898-1911], IV, 154; Beneyto Pérez, *Historia de la administración*, 169-70.)

⁶⁷ González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 167, p. 237.

case, aside from the bishops and nobles, only the cathedral canons, knights, and their *familiares* were exempt from payment. All the *gentes terre* or nonnoble freemen, including tenants of lands belonging to the nobility or the Church, were required to pay one maravedi apiece.⁶⁸ The King pledged that he would not give any portion of the income received to anyone.⁶⁹

From the above it would seem that at the *curia* of Benavente Alfonso IX recognized at least in principle the obligation to offer his coinage for sale before debasing it, or to put it another way, to request the consent of his subjects to the levying of an extraordinary tribute. This suggests that the *curia plena*, in which the towns would be represented, would have to be summoned with a certain periodicity. It is conceivable, as Sánchez Albornoz believes, though it is not yet demonstrated, that the King sold his coinage in 1195, just seven years before the *curia* of 1202, or perhaps in October 1194 when he promulgated a series of laws in a council held at Compostela.⁷⁰ One might even conjecture that he had completed a similar transaction seven years before that, in the *curia* of León in July 1188. An arbitrary schedule for the summoning of the *curia* every seven years, in 1188, 1195, 1202, 1209, 1216, 1223, 1230, 1237, 1244, and 1251, might be established, but it is not yet possible to affirm that the King did indeed convoke his council in each of those years.

On the other hand, *moneda* is mentioned as a tribute reserved especially for the crown or as an exceptional exemption in 1202, 1207, 1209, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1227, and 1229.⁷¹ It also appears in Castile where it is mentioned for the first time as a right reserved for the crown in 1215; other references are dated 1216, 1217, 1219, 1225, and after the reunion of León and Castile, 1230, 1244, and 1245.⁷² Alfonso X's promise to collect *moneda forera* only every

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Sánchez Albornoz ("La primitiva organización monetaria," 475) believes that Alfonso IX had sold his coinage previously in another *curia* because in 1197 he granted the tenth of the tribute collected from the sale in Asturias, León, Zamora, and Villafranca to the Order of Santiago. It is true that on November 29, 1195, he granted the order "totam decimam mee monete de terra Legionis, Zamore, Villefrance et mearum Asturiarum" and on December 28, 1195, "decimam partem tallii totius monete regni mei." (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, Nos. 89-90, pp. 133-34.) But I am not certain that *moneta* as used in the first of these documents means a tribute and not a tenth of the profits of the coinage in the places mentioned. In the second document it appears that the King grants the order a tenth of the coinage throughout the realm. It may be noted that on April 5, 1195, he gave the see of Zamora "decimam partem mearum monetarum," but I think this means a tenth of the coinage of Zamora. (*Ibid.*, No. 91, pp. 135-36.)

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 84, pp. 125-28.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 167, 219, 239, 431, 445, 451, 516, 597, 603, pp. 236-37, 303-304, 327-29, 352-53, 546, 557, 565-66, 616, 693, 702. There is also an undated letter of Alfonso IX "totis collectoribus de mea moneta." (*Ibid.*, No. 665, p. 739.) A royal charter of 1190 exempting the abbey of Aguilar from *moneta* may have been tampered with as González believes. (*Ibid.*, No. 39, pp. 65-66.)

⁷² González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, Nos. 986, 999, 1015, pp. 702-703, 719-20, 746-47; Rodríguez, *Real monasterio*, II, No. 57, p. 109; Jerónimo López

seven years as his father and grandfather had done and the concession of *moneda forera* to Fernando IV by the Cortes of Valladolid in 1295, even though an entire seven years had not elapsed, indicate that this tribute was indeed collected every seven years.⁷³ As yet, however, clear and unmistakable evidence that the Cortes was summoned each time to consent to the levy has not been discovered.

The only other specific example of the sale of the royal coinage comes from Portugal. Afonso III declared that when he proposed to devalue the coinage as his predecessors had done "the greater part of the clergy and people of my kingdom humbly and insistently besought me to conserve in weight the accustomed and usual coinage until the next seven years, and each one would pay me for this a certain sum of money."⁷⁴ He evidently completed the sale of his coinage in the *curia* of Leiria in 1254, an assembly attended by bishops, magnates, prelates, members of religious orders, and the good men of the towns. This is the first explicit reference to the presence of townsmen in the Portuguese royal council.⁷⁵

Although the sale of the royal coinage clearly was a principal concern of the *curia* of Benavente in March 1202, another reason for the summoning of townsmen to that assembly may be suggested. For more than three years Alfonso IX and his queen, Berenguela of Castile, had refused to bow to papal demands that they separate because they were first cousins. Their marriage was viewed as essential to the continuance of peaceful relations between León and Castile, and the birth of an heir to the Leonese throne was

de Ayala, *Contribuciones e impuestos en León y Castilla durante la edad media* (Madrid, 1896), 280; Luciano Serrano, "El canciller de Fernando III," *Hispania*, I (No. 5, 1940), 29-33; Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos de España: Reino de Castilla* (Madrid, 1966), No. 57, pp. 86-87, a reference to *cogedores de la moneda*; Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, 479-82. A charter of Alfonso VIII, dated 1187, and granting exemption from *moneta* to the abbey of San Cebrián, has probably been interpolated. (González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, No. 1023, p. 757.)

⁷³ *Crónica del Rey don Alfonso décimo*, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (203 vols., Madrid, 1944-67), LXVI, Chap. XL, 31; Jofre de Loaysa, *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla*, ed. Antonio García Martínez (Murcia, 1961), Chap. LX, 60, 152. There are examples of exemptions from the payment of *moneda* granted by Alfonso X and his successors, but the subject is in need of extensive investigation. By the middle of the thirteenth century *moneda* was regarded as a fundamental right that no king could alienate. (*Fuero viejo de Castilla*, ed. Ignacio Jordán del Asso y del Río and Miguel de Manuel Rodríguez [Madrid, 1771], lib. I, tit. 1, cap. 1.)

⁷⁴ Letters of Dec. 26, 1253, and Mar. 18, 1254, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica, Leges et Consuetudines* (1 vol. in 2 pts., Lisbon, 1856), Pt. 2, 192-97.

⁷⁵ Sánchez Albornoz, *Curia regia portuguesa*, 162; Henrique da Gama Barros, *Historia da administração pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV*, 2d ed. by Torquato Sousa Soares (11 vols., Lisbon, 1945-54), III, 134-40, 382-86; Marcello Caetano, *As Cortes de Leiria de 1254* (Lisbon, 1954). In 1205 Pere II of Aragon introduced a tribute called *monedatge* which seems to have had the same character as *moneda*. (See Josiah Cox Russell, "The Medieval Monedatge of Aragon and Valencia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVI [No. 6, 1962], 483-514.) Similar practices in France are discussed by Thomas Bisson, *Assemblies and Representation in Languedoc in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), 95, 127-28, 241, 312-14.

expected to strengthen the bond between the two kingdoms. In August 1201, a son, the future Fernando III, was born to the royal couple.⁷⁶ It seems logical to suppose that the *curia plena* of March 1202 was convoked in part to acknowledge the rights of the Infante Fernando, then six months old, to the Leonese throne. Given the papal charge that the marriage was incestuous, it was all the more important that the child's legitimacy and his claims to the succession be placed beyond dispute and be recognized by all the political forces of the realm.

Alfonso VIII of Castile apparently intervened directly on behalf of his grandson, for Pope Innocent III, in a letter of June 5, 1203, complained that the King had brought it about that "the whole Leonese kingdom should swear" to acknowledge the Infante as heir to the throne.⁷⁷ More than likely that ceremony took place at Benavente in March 1202.⁷⁸ But in the end Innocent III, by means of interdict and excommunication, had his way, and the royal couple separated early in 1204.⁷⁹ Relations between Castile and León promptly deteriorated, but in 1206 a treaty providing that the Infante should be recognized as heir and that the Leonese should pledge homage to him was concluded.⁸⁰ Perhaps for this purpose Alfonso IX summoned the archbishop of Compostela and many other bishops and magnates to assemble at Toro in 1207, but little is known of this meeting, and the attendance of townsmen is not indicated.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Alfonso IX's marriage to Teresa of Portugal in 1191 was dissolved in 1194; his three children by that union, Sancha, Fernando, and Dulce, were not acknowledged as heirs to the throne. The Infante Fernando, his son by Berenguela, is recorded for the first time in a royal charter of August 5, 1201. (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 155, p. 218.)

⁷⁷ Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III* (Rome, 1955), No. 276, pp. 305-306. In a letter to the archbishops of Compostela and Toledo and the bishops of Zamora and Coimbra (*ibid.*, No. 305, pp. 336-39) he made the same charge.

⁷⁸ The coincidence of the Infante's birth in August 1201, the convocation of the *curia* six months later, and the Pope's letter of June 1203 suggests that the ceremony did indeed take place at Benavente in March 1202.

⁷⁹ González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, I, 731-35. Martínez Marina (*Teoría de las cortes*, II, 8) says Alfonso IX held the Cortes at León in 1204 to recognize the Infante as heir, but I have not found evidence of this. On November 3, 1204, at Lugo he promulgated *decreta* concerning thieves and other evildoers and ordered that in each diocese the *militēs* should be summoned by the bishops to swear to uphold the *decreta*. Perhaps the *decreta* were published in an assembly of Galician bishops and magnates, but the text does not mention them. I doubt that the King would have called an assembly of the whole realm, including representatives of the towns, to Lugo which is quite remote from the center of the kingdom. (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 192, pp. 267-68.)

⁸⁰ The Infante is mentioned in his father's charters on August 2, 1204, but does not reappear again until 1216. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 185, 205, pp. 258, 284-91; González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, No. 782, pp. 365-74.)

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 217, pp. 301-302. The text concerns litigation between the King and the abbot of Corias who was told to come to Toro where the magnates, many bishops, and the archbishop of Compostela had been summoned. At that time the King declared that he had no rights over the monastery of Corias. Perhaps this assembly preceded the treaty concluded at Burgos on September 7, 1207, in which Alfonso IX acknowledged his son as his heir. (*Ibid.*, No. 219, pp. 303-305.) Guglielmi ("Curia regia en León y Castilla," 161) does not regard the assembly at Toro as a *curia plena* because the reference to "multi episcopi"

In February 1208, however, Alfonso IX convened at León an assembly of bishops, barons, and the chief men of the realm, together with a multitude of citizens from each city.⁸² This gathering, with those of 1188 and 1202, is the third *curia* in which the presence of townsmen is confirmed. In each instance the reference to citizens from each city suggests a large gathering, but the term citizens offers no clue concerning the powers entrusted to them.⁸³ After much deliberation, with the consent of everyone, the King promulgated a law in favor of the Church. He pledged not to seize the property of deceased bishops,⁸⁴ acknowledged the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and safeguarded ecclesiastical property from confiscation.⁸⁵ Of particular interest was his promise not to levy the tribute known as *petitum* upon cathedral clergy or rural clergy nor to enter their houses and seize their goods for this purpose. This, he acknowledged, was consonant with equity, inasmuch as the bishops had been accustomed joyfully to assist him in his need.⁸⁶ Royal finance continued to be a problem, and the King's attempts to extract money from the Church met with resistance.⁸⁷ In view of this fact it would not seem unlikely for him to have raised the question of selling the coinage, as only one year remained of the seven-year period established in the *curia* of 1202; perhaps he had summoned the townsmen to the assembly at León

indicates that some were not summoned (a questionable interpretation, in my view) and because the townsmen, "who for many years had been included in the assemblies," were not present. I do not believe that townsmen were necessarily summoned to all assemblies after 1188, unless their presence was especially important to the king.

⁸² González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 221, pp. 306–308.

⁸³ Colmeiro (*Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 152) holds that the attendance of "enviados de cada cibdad por escote," as the Castilian text reads, implies that they had a mandate from their towns.

⁸⁴ The pledge is similar to one enacted in October 1194. González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 84, p. 127: *Inter hec omnia*. In *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, I, 50–51, a Castilian version of the decrees of 1208 includes those of 1194 from *Inter hec omnia* to *De filiis vero nobilium*. Muñoz y Romero (*Colección de fueros municipales*, 117–19) gives a Castilian version of the decrees of 1194 as far as *Inter hec omnia*.

⁸⁵ If a layman holding a *prestimonium* from the Church incurred the king's wrath and was exiled, his holding should revert to the Church and should not be restored to him without the king's consent. This represents a modification of a similar decree enacted in the *curia* of 1202.

⁸⁶ González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 221, p. 307. Persons bringing wine, food, and other goods to the bishops and cathedral clergy were exempted from *portazgo*. In a separate charter this privilege was assured to the cathedral clergy of León; a third charter exempted the *iugarii* working the lands of the abbey of Valdedíos from tributes including *petitum*; a fourth charter granted property to the archbishop of Compostela; and a fifth charter dated only February 2 at León and referring to Valdedíos may have been issued at this time. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 222–24, 628, pp. 308–11, 722.)

⁸⁷ The use of forceful tactics to obtain money from the Church is revealed by two charters, one of March 29, 1193, in which the King promised the bishop of Orense never to demand anything by violence from the canons of that see nor to take any of their goods unless they granted them to him of their own good will. In a charter of September 25, 1204, he noted that because of the needs of war with Castile, with the permission of the bishop, he had made an exaction of the canons and citizens of Orense, but he promised compensation and pledged not to make this exaction again without the bishop's consent. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 65, 189, pp. 99–100, 264–65.)

precisely to ask their consent to the levying of *moneda forera* beginning in 1209. This still remains, of course, a matter of conjecture.

Whether townsmen attended meetings of the royal council in León and Castile in the next few years is difficult to ascertain.⁸⁸ One wonders especially whether Alfonso VIII of Castile called upon them for extraordinary financial assistance in meeting the expenses preparatory to his great campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa in the spring of 1212. According to the chroniclers he conferred with the archbishop of Toledo and the bishops and magnates of the realm in September 1211, probably at Toledo, and planned the campaign. A general edict ordering all to prepare for war was published.⁸⁹ On the King's request, probably at this time, the clergy pledged half of their yearly income to finance the campaign.⁹⁰ And indeed the King had ample funds to take care of the needs of all the troops who gathered at Toledo in the spring of 1212. But whether the Castilian towns contributed a special subsidy to the royal treasury at this time is not known. Following his climactic victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in July, Alfonso VIII apparently convened an assembly at Burgos to celebrate his triumph. Although none of the chronicles refer to a gathering of this sort, the *Primera Crónica General* relates that the King, upon disbanding the host, promised "to improve the *fueros* and to reduce the tributes" of the *concejos*.⁹¹ The *Fuero viejo*, a legal compilation that received its present form in the fourteenth century, implies that he did so in an assembly at Burgos. The prologue to this text asserts that on December 28, 1212, in the royal hospital of Burgos, Alfonso VIII confirmed all the charters that the Castilian towns had received from his predecessors from the time of Alfonso VI. He also asked the magnates and knights to record their rights and customs so that he could amend those which required it and confirm those which were beneficial.⁹² Probably he

⁸⁸ Two charters of Alfonso IX may contain references to a *curia plena*. The subscription to a privilege of October 1, 1210, probably issued in Oviedo, indicates that it was given "in grandi concilio." Besides the bishop of Oviedo, the *alférez*, and *mayordomo*, the text mentions six persons "et alii multi homines," and three witnesses. I suspect, however, that the reference to a *grande concilium* means the *concejo* of Oviedo rather than a *curia plena*. In the second charter dated at Santiago on April 21, 1211, the King noted that among those attending the dedication of the cathedral were the *proceres* of the realm and a vast multitude. With the counsel and deliberation of the magnates, he granted a privilege to the archbishop. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 267, 271, pp. 361-62, 366-68.)

⁸⁹ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. xix, 57-58. Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. VII, Chap. xxxvi, 126. The poetic coloration that Rodrigo gave to these preparations for war induced several authors to assert that the King had promulgated a sumptuary law, but the King's intent was only that everyone should be suitably equipped for war. (Colmeiro, *Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 141.)

⁹⁰ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. xxi, 62; Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. VIII, Chap. iii, 127.

⁹¹ *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, Chap. mxxi, 705.

⁹² *Fuero viejo*, ed. Jordán del Asso y del Río and Manuel Rodríguez, I. The witnesses mentioned in this text are also recorded in royal charters of the period. The King issued

had decided to summon the bishops, nobles, and townsmen to Burgos to celebrate the Christmas festivities with him and to receive a measure of his gratitude for their faithful service, for he recognized that he had achieved his immense victory over the Muslims "not by my merit, but by the mercy of God and the assistance of my vassals."

After his death in October 1214, representatives of the towns apparently were summoned to Burgos to acknowledge his ten-year-old son, Enrique I, as king of Castile. Although Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada declared only that the King was elevated by the bishops and magnates,⁹³ the *Latin Chronicle* emphasized that "he was received as king by all the Castilians and the prelates of the churches and the people of the cities, and they did homage to him by hand."⁹⁴ Given the youth of the King and the illness that afflicted his mother and caused her death on October 31, the convocation of the prelates, magnates, and townsmen to proclaim the allegiance of the whole kingdom would seem to have been particularly desirable. In the three critical years that followed, however, the townsmen apparently were not called to any of the meetings of the royal council that attempted to settle questions of the regency.⁹⁵ The kingdom was near civil war when the sudden death of Enrique I in June 1217 created a new crisis in the resolution of which the townsmen were to play a decisive role.

three charters at Burgos on December 17, 27, and 28, one of them in favor of the royal hospital. (González, *Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, III, Nos. 902-904, pp. 578-83.) Galo Sánchez, "Para la historia de la redacción del antiguo derecho territorial castellano," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, VI (1929), 279-80, affirms the authenticity of the prologue, as does Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Dudas sobre el Ordenamiento de Nájera," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, XXXV-XXXVI (1962), 322-23.

⁹³ Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. 1, 139.

⁹⁴ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. xxxi, 82. The nobles and townsmen had hastened to Burgos on hearing of the King's death on October 4. Martínez Marina (*Teoría de las Cortes*, II, 25) speaks of an assembly of "varones ilustres y los representantes de todas las provincias del reino, pontífices, abades, religiosos y seculares, magnates, nobles y soldados," but no contemporary text is so explicit. Colmeiro (*Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 148-49) notes that the *Crónica general* published by Florián de Ocampo asserted that the Queen summoned "toda la tierra a cortes de Burgos," but this text is of a much later date.

⁹⁵ González (*Reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, I, 224) suggests that Count Alvaro Núñez de Lara received custody of the King in a *curia plena* at Palencia in April 1215; Rodrigo (*De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. 1, 139) implies that this occurred at Burgos. Sánchez Albornoz (*España*, II, 84) speaks of the Cortes of Burgos at this time, but I have found only one indication of the participation of townsmen in these affairs. A passage in the *Crónica de la población de Avila*, ed. Amparo Hernández Segura (Valencia, 1966), 38-39, relates that Berenguela took counsel with the townsmen of Extremadura concerning the possible restoration of castles to the King of León. One of them "en uoz de Extremadura" declared that under no circumstances should the castles be given up. Although the text offers no precise chronology and does not mention an assembly, it is a credible description of the intervention of townsmen in a matter of some consequence, and it probably took place between March 1215 and August 12, 1216, when a treaty was signed by Castile and León. A *curia plena* was held at Valladolid around the feast of the Assumption in 1216 and probably discussed the treaty, but neither the *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot (Chap. xxxii, 85-86), nor Rodrigo (*De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. II, 139) mentions the presence of townsmen.

By right of inheritance the throne belonged to the King's older sister, Berenguela, but she proposed to yield it to the Infante Fernando, her son by Alfonso IX of León. While she was seeking support, men from the towns between the Duero and the Tagus Rivers gathered at Segovia to discuss the situation. It is not known by whom they were summoned, and it may be that they assembled on their own initiative. After some hesitancy they accepted Berenguela's invitation to come to Valladolid.⁹⁶ Archbishop Rodrigo reported that the chief men of Extremadura, who had come for all the others, and the Castilian magnates and knights, by common consent, offered the kingdom to Berenguela, who, with the approval of all, gave it up to her son.⁹⁷ In somewhat greater detail the *Latin Chronicle* related that such great numbers of men from the towns of Extremadura gathered at Valladolid on July 2, 1217, that the royal palace could not hold them all, and so they asked Berenguela and her sons to meet with them outside the city in an open field. Accompanied by the bishops and nobles, she met them. One of them, speaking for all the others on behalf of the people, recognized that the kingdom belonged to her by hereditary right, but asked her to give it to her son, "because she, as a woman, would be unable to endure the labors of governing the kingdom." To this she graciously assented, and all acclaimed Fernando III as king. Then they retired to the cathedral where "all who were present, both magnates and people of the cities and other towns," pledged homage to the King.⁹⁸ Probably the townsmen who took part in this assembly belonged to the ranks of the *caballeros villanos*, as Fernando III himself suggested many years later when he stated that upon his accession he had sworn to uphold the laws of the realm "in the presence of my mother and my magnates and the archbishop and the bishops and the *caballeros* of Castile and Extremadura and of my whole court."⁹⁹

The Castilian towns participated in a great council convened in November 1219 to celebrate the King's marriage to Beatrice of Swabia, a granddaughter of Frederick Barbarossa. "With the magnates and many other nobles and the chief men [*primores*] of the cities and towns of the kingdom," Fernando

⁹⁶ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chaps. xxxiii-xxxiv, 89-92; Lucas of Túy, *Crónica de España*, ed. Puyol, 417.

⁹⁷ Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. v, 141-42. *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, Chaps. mxxviii-mxxix, 712-13. See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "La sucesión al trono en los reinos de León y Castilla," in *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, 675-78.

⁹⁸ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. xxxv, 93.

⁹⁹ Document of Nov. 22, 1250, in Diego Colmenares, *Historia de la ciudad de Segovia* (4 vols., Segovia, 1846-47), II, 26-29. On August 26, 1218, Fernando III and his father Alfonso IX of León concluded a treaty of peace. As guarantors of the treaty several nobles from each kingdom swore an oath "et similiter decem boni homines de singulis ciuitatibus et uillis de frontariis utriusque regni iurent." (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 352, pp. 460-62.)

III received the Princess at Burgos. On November 27 in the royal monastery of Las Huelgas just outside the city he girded himself with the belt of knighthood, and three days later the marriage was solemnized in the cathedral of Burgos.¹⁰⁰ Then

a most memorable *curia* was held in Burgos, with a multitude of magnates, knights, and the chief men of the cities who had been summoned. All the noble ladies, both religious and lay, from all over the kingdom of Castile attended Queen Berenguela in that *curia*. From ancient times a *curia* such as this had not been seen in the city of Burgos.¹⁰¹

It is clear that the bishops, nobles, and townsmen were summoned not only to participate in the festal ceremonies of this occasion but also to pledge allegiance to their new Queen. The towns were represented by their leading citizens, probably *caballeros villanos*; though they were not described as procurators, by this time it is possible that they had proctorial powers.

Several times in 1221,¹⁰² 1222,¹⁰³ 1224,¹⁰⁴ and 1230 the Kings of León and Castile held assemblies, and although the attendance of townsmen is not always indicated in the sources, this should not be taken as proof of their absence. On March 21, 1222, for example, the royal council of Castile was convoked at Burgos to acknowledge the newly born Infante Alfonso as heir to the throne; almost certainly the townsmen were summoned to that assembly.¹⁰⁵ When Alfonso IX died in late September 1230 his son, Fernando III, who had been recognized many years before as heir to the throne by the

¹⁰⁰ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. XL, 98-100; Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. x, 143.

¹⁰¹ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. XL, 99-100; Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. x, 143; *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, Chap. MXXXIV, 718-19.

¹⁰² On November 14, 1221, at Zamora, Alfonso IX pledged to defend the castle of Villalobos held by Gil Manrique who pledged homage to him. The document is dated "in plena curia et in concilio." Those present included the archbishop of Compostela, the bishop of Zamora, the royal *mayordomo*, *alférez*, seven royal vassals, three other lords, the archdeacon of Salamanca, and the royal notary. Perhaps this *curia* was called to plan the offensive against Cáceres for the next spring. (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 415, pp. 530-31.)

¹⁰³ See note 105, below.

¹⁰⁴ In the spring of 1224 the royal council assembled at Burgos to celebrate the marriage of John of Brienne, the erstwhile King of Jerusalem, and Fernando III's sister, Berenguela, but the attendance of the townsmen is not recorded. (*Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. XLII, 101.) Rodrigo does not mention this marriage. After Pentecost the King announced his desire to go to war against the Muslims and for this reason summoned the *curia* to meet at Carrión in July 1224. Present were the archbishop of Toledo, the bishop of Burgos, the masters of Calatrava and Santiago, and all the magnates of the realm, but there is no mention of townsmen. (*Ibid.*, Chap. XLIII, 102.)

¹⁰⁵ Fernando III went to Burgos on February 29, 1222. The ceremony is mentioned in a royal privilege to the abbey of San Andrés de Arroyo. Antonio Ballesteros, *Alfonso X* (Barcelona, 1963), 50-52, is emphatic in saying "La nobleza y los representantes de las ciudades habían acudido a Burgos para cumplir un deber constitucional . . . el canciller leyó la fórmula del juramento que habrían de prestar los procuradores de las villas y ciudades." This statement, of course, goes far beyond the documentation. (See Martínez Marina, *Teoría de las cortes*, II, 8.)

Leonese bishops, nobles, and citizens of the towns, claimed the inheritance.¹⁰⁶ As the year came to a close he made a settlement with his half sisters who had attempted to challenge his rights. Present in the assembly at Benavente on December 11, 1230, were members of the royal family, the archbishops of Toledo and Compostela, and many barons and townsmen.¹⁰⁷ Although no source describes it as such, this assembly probably should be regarded as the first *curia plena* or Cortes of the reunited kingdoms of León and Castile.

During the next twenty years Fernando III vigorously pushed the reconquest, capturing Córdoba in 1236, Murcia in 1243, Jaén in 1245, and Seville in 1248. Problems of strategy and finance clearly required the summoning of the great council during these years, but evidence for such meetings is uncertain. There is reason to believe that in 1232 and 1233 the King convened assemblies in which townsmen participated. After traversing Extremadura and Galicia he returned to Carrión, probably in July 1232, and "many people from the kingdom of León and many nobles from Galicia and Asturias" gathered there. When he moved to Burgos, perhaps in November, "a vast multitude of people and nobles of Castile and Galicia and other parts of the realm" assembled, and "with the counsel of good men" he settled many affairs.¹⁰⁸ In the fall of 1233, after the capture of Ubeda, he returned to Burgos where he dealt again with great affairs concerning the whole kingdom.¹⁰⁹ Although the language of the *Latin Chronicle* is imprecise, it is reasonable to suppose that these gatherings were meetings of the Cortes, and it is likely that much of the business transacted was of a judicial character. A few years later, in September 1237, Fernando III married his second wife, Jeanne of Ponthieu, at Burgos where a *curia* was celebrated in the royal manner, and she was raised to the dignity of queen.¹¹⁰ The towns probably

¹⁰⁶ Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. VII, Chap. xxv, 125; Bk. IX, Chaps. xii-xiv, 145.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Chaps. xiii-xv, 145-46; Lucas of Túy, *Crónica de España*, ed. Puyol, 427; and *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chaps. lx-lxi, 132-34; Serrano ("Canciller de Fernando III," 29-33) published the text of the pact. While at Benavente on December 14 Fernando III issued a charter to several *concejos*. (Agustín Millares Carlo, "La cancellería real en León y Castilla hasta fines del reinado de Fernando III," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, III [1926], 298.)

¹⁰⁸ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chaps. lxii-lxiii, 136-37. After the pact of Benavente the King visited the towns of Extremadura early in 1231; around Christmas he entered Galicia and promulgated constitutions against malefactors and then returned to Carrión. The King's itinerary shows that he was at Carrión on July 2, 1232, and at Burgos on November 20. (Antonio Ballesteros, *Historia de España* [9 vols., Barcelona, 1918-41], III, 145, n. 22; and Mateo Hernández, *Ciudad Rodrigo: La catedral y la ciudad* [2 vols., Salamanca, 1935], I, 168-69.)

¹⁰⁹ *Chronique latine*, ed. Cirot, Chap. lxv, 138. He was at Burgos from October 10 to November 12, 1233. (Marius Ferotin, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos* [Paris, 1897], Nos. 115-18, pp. 168-74; *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza*, ed. Luciano Serrano [Madrid, 1925], No. 150, pp. 270-71; Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos*, No. 186, pp. 240-41.)

¹¹⁰ Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, Bk. IX, Chap. xviii, 147-48; *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, Chap. mxlviii, 735. Gregory IX dispensed the couple from consanguinity

were invited to send representatives to pledge homage to her, as they had done nearly twenty years before to Beatrice of Swabia. The King apparently convened another assembly at Burgos in 1241; there he resolved affairs with the magnates and the townsmen.¹¹¹

During this time pressing financial need compelled the King to exploit every source of revenue. In 1236 Pope Gregory IX instructed the bishops of León and Castile to give the King twenty thousand gold pieces from each kingdom for three years to finance the reconquest;¹¹² ten years later Innocent IV allowed the King to use a portion of the tithes for three years to meet the expenses of the siege of Seville.¹¹³ It seems likely that the King also attempted to obtain extraordinary subsidies from the towns, though they may have tried to excuse themselves on the grounds that they were supplying troops for the royal army. The King evidently collected *moneda*¹¹⁴ and other tributes, but it is not certain that he summoned the townsmen to the Cortes every seven years to obtain their consent to the levying of *moneda*. While the siege of Seville was in progress, he wrote to the *concejos* of Galicia, describing his urgent need and asking them to lend him money according to a scale based upon individual income; he promised to repay the loan when

on August 31, 1237. Royal privileges place the King at Burgos on September 2-3, 1237. (Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, 438; *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña*, ed. Alamo, II, No. 480, pp. 591-93.)

¹¹¹ *Primera Crónica General*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, Chaps. MLVI-MLVIII, 739-41: "estando y librando sus pleitos con sus ricos omnes et con los de la tierra. . . ." The phrase "los de la tierra" is commonly used in documents and chronicles of the late thirteenth century to refer to representatives of the towns in the Cortes. The Latin equivalent, *gentes terre*, appears in the text recording the work of the *curia* of Benavente in 1202. (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, No. 167, pp. 236-37.) Guglielmi ("Curia regia en León y Castilla," 159) refers to this gathering, but apparently does not consider it a meeting of the Cortes. The chronicle relates that the King went to Córdoba in the spring of 1240 and after thirteen months returned to Toledo and then to Burgos. Documentation indicates that he was in Córdoba from April 1240 to March 1241 and in Toledo in April 1241. On July 8, 1241, he appeared at Burgos giving judgment in a suit between the bishop and the *concejo* of León. (C. M. Benedito, "Nuevas behetrías de León y Galicia y textos para el estudio de la curia regia leonesa," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, VI [1929], 419-20.) Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora* (4 vols., Madrid, 1882-83), IV, 7, says the King held the Cortes at Benavente in 1240 and that the *cuaderno* issued at that time was to be found in the royal library. Ursicino Alvarez Martínez, *Historia general civil y eclesiástica de la provincia de Zamora* (Madrid, 1965), 190, also refers to the Cortes of Benavente in 1240, but as yet I have found no further evidence for this assembly.

¹¹² *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Lucien Auvray (2 vols., Paris, 1896-1910), II, Nos. 3315-16, cols. 473-74; Javier Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (Pamplona, 1925), No. 128, p. 449.

¹¹³ *Les Registres de Innocent IV*, ed. Élie Berger (4 vols., Paris, 1884-1921), I, No. 2538, p. 377; Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada*, No. 177, pp. 468-69. This is the first papal bull specifically authorizing the King to use the *tercias* (the third of the tithe destined for the upkeep of churches) for the reconquest.

¹¹⁴ In two privileges to the Order of Calatrava, December 31, 1245, the King reserved *moneda* "quam detis mihi secundum quod datur per aliam terram meam." (Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias*, 479-81.) A private document of February 2, 1244, was witnessed by two *cogedores de la moneda*. (Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos*, No. 57, pp. 86-87.)

he next levied *moneda*.¹¹⁵ He apparently extracted loans from other towns,¹¹⁶ and it may well be that he preferred to deal with the towns individually or regionally rather than in a general assembly where they would be better able to resist his demands for money.

After the fall of Seville in 1248 the King spent the remaining four years of his life in that glittering capital, distributing houses, lands, and rents among his followers and planning measures to close the invasion route used so many times in the past by the Muslims of North Africa. In November 1250 he convened an assembly that has been described erroneously as the first meeting of the Cortes of Castile.¹¹⁷ It should be apparent from what has been said above that similar assemblies had already been held both in León and Castile. Evidence for the Cortes of 1250 was first adduced by the seventeenth-century writer Diego Colmenares, who published a royal charter granted to the *concejo* of Segovia on November 22, 1250, at Seville.¹¹⁸ To my knowledge no one noted that the texts of two other royal charters, one addressed to the *concejo* of Uceda on November 18¹¹⁹ and the other to the *concejo* of Cuenca on November 20,¹²⁰ are nearly identical with the charter granted to Segovia. The three texts represent decisions taken by the King in the Cortes and were communicated by him to the towns whose representatives were present. The same charter was undoubtedly sent to many other towns, and additional copies of it will surely be discovered. Thus Colmeiro's statement that the *cuadernos* or records of the Cortes of 1250 have not survived is incorrect.¹²¹

The three charters reveal that the King consulted with his son Alfonso,

¹¹⁵ "Empréstito pedido por D. Fernando III el Santo a los concejos de Galicia para atender a los gastos de la guerra con los árabes el año 1248 dos meses antes de la toma de Sevilla," *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos de Orense*, III (Jan., Feb. 1906), 385-87. Anyone with property worth one thousand maravedis was asked to lend the King fifty; anyone worth five hundred would lend twenty-five, and on three hundred the loan would be fifteen. Nothing was asked of those whose wealth was less than three hundred. Julio González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla* (2 vols., Madrid, 1951), I, 184, n. 140, summarizes the text, but questions whether it is entirely authentic. The letter is addressed to more than twenty towns, including Santiago, Orense, Lugo, and Túy.

¹¹⁶ On November 6, 1255, for example, *caballeros* of Valladolid, "con personería de su concejo," complained to Alfonso X of the forced loans taken from the *mercaderes* of the city by Fernando III. (*Los privilegios de Valladolid*, ed. Juan Agapito y Revilla [Valladolid, 1906], No. 29-XI, pp. 48-49.) On June 30, 1256, the townsmen of Rivadavia made a similar complaint. (Ballesteros, *Alfonso X*, 1074.) In both instances Alfonso X pledged that he would not indulge in this practice.

¹¹⁷ See, e.g., Colmeiro, *Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 153; Ballesteros, *Historia*, II, 512.

¹¹⁸ Colmenares, *Historia de la ciudad de Segovia*, II, 26-29.

¹¹⁹ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 773, fols. 139^v-41^r. Guglielmi ("Curia regia en León y Castilla," 82) knows only the charter given to Segovia and seems to treat it as a special privilege given to that town rather than a charter generally applicable to all the towns.

¹²⁰ Mateo López, *Memorias históricas de Cuenca y su obispado*, ed. Angel González Palencia (2 vols., Madrid, 1949), I, 72-75, published the charter from the original in the municipal archives. It is also published in *Fuero de Cuenca*, ed. Ureña, 859-60.

¹²¹ Colmeiro, *Introducción a las Cortes*, I, 153.

his brother Alfonso de Molina, his half brother Rodrigo Alfonso, Diego López de Haro and Nuño González de Lara, heads of two of the great families of the realm, the bishops of Palencia and Segovia, the masters of Calatrava, Santiago, and the Temple, the grand commander of the Hospital, and other *ricos hombres*, knights, and good men of Castile and León. The presence of the great lords and the masters of the military orders was not unusual, but it is surprising that only two bishops were mentioned. In view of the documentation of the previous quarter century there is reason to believe that the representatives sent by the towns of León and Castile were procurators with full powers.

Fernando III declared that he had summoned the good men of the towns to discuss matters touching the good estate of the realm. They were receptive to his words, and he was satisfied with their response. Whether he asked for a subsidy at this time is unknown. They did ask him to guard the liberties of their towns as he had promised when he became king of Castile. Pledging to rectify his past transgressions in this respect, he nullified all royal charters that had exempted villages from the jurisdiction of the towns. Friction between the urban and rural inhabitants of many municipal districts evidently had increased, and the countryfolk especially resented their exclusion from any direct participation in town government. But the King's action in abolishing whatever exemptions he had granted the villages was a triumph for the urban population which jealously guarded its control of the municipality. As a protection against possible vengeance the King threatened with severe penalties any town officials who abused the villagers.¹²²

Of particular interest for the history of the Cortes are the stipulations concerning representatives sent by the towns to the royal court, either in answer to a summons or on the initiative of the towns: They should be suitable *caballeros*, that is, men from the upper social stratum of the towns, who were beginning to dominate town government and to broaden the gap between themselves and the lower orders.¹²³ Usually three and no more than four representatives were to be sent to the King unless he explicitly asked for more. They were to be recompensed according to the distance traveled; each *caballero* traveling as far as Toledo, for example, would receive half a maravedi each day, and if he went beyond Toledo toward the Muslim frontier, perhaps to Seville, he would receive a full maravedi.¹²⁴ Several

¹²² See Gibert, *Concejo de Madrid*, 73-94. On July 24, 1222, Fernando pledged not to separate the villages from the town of Madrid. (Timoteo Palacio, *Documentos del archivo de Madrid* [2 vols., Madrid, 1888-1906], I, 68.)

¹²³ Adriana Bo and María del Carmen Carlé, "Cuando empieza a reservarse a los caballeros el gobierno de las ciudades castellanas," *Cuadernos de historia de España*, IV (1946), 114-25.

¹²⁴ Each of the representatives was permitted to bring three *bestias*, presumably a horse

other charters issued while the assembly was in progress emphasize the fact that the Cortes gave the towns an opportunity to present their lawsuits to the King for adjudication; it should be noted that the good men of the towns came with *cartas de personería* or proctorial letters.¹²⁵

Other articles in the *cuaderno* of 1250 disclose royal encouragement of aristocratic control of town government. The King declared, for example, that *menestrales* or artisans should not be elected to the office of *juez*, the principal magistracy in the towns. As he remarked, the *juez* was the standard-bearer of the *concejo*; lest a man of vulgar origin acting in that capacity bring shame upon the *concejo*, presumably by his cowardice in time of danger, the standard was to be born by a *caballero* or good man with a sense of honor. This appears to be an attempt to exclude the lower orders from the chief office of town government. The King's condemnation and dissolution of "evil confraternities and associations," which lessened his power and dominion and worked to the injury of the towns, suggest not only that the artisans were attempting to form guilds to defend their economic interests and perhaps to exercise greater political influence but also that the *caballeros* recognized the guilds as a threat to their predominance and had enlisted the King's support in suppressing them. Only those confraternities of an exclusively spiritual character—for purposes of burying the dead or caring for the sick and the poor—were permitted. Alfonso X repeated these injunctions in the Cortes of 1252.¹²⁶ The growing luxury among the townsmen and among the upper classes in general is reflected in regulations concerning weddings, specifying the number of guests who might be invited, the presents that the bridegroom might give the bride, and so forth.¹²⁷

The Cortes held at Seville in November 1250 marks the culmination of a

and pack animals; their value was to be estimated in advance by the *alcaldes* so that suitable recompense could be made should any of the animals die on the journey. Alfonso X repeated these regulations in a charter of June 23, 1261, addressed to the *concejo* of Escalona. (*Memorial histórico español*, I, No. 86, pp. 187-91.) But in the Cortes of 1258 he stipulated that each town should send only two representatives to his court. (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, I, 56.)

¹²⁵ A charter of November 18, 1250, concerns litigation between the Order of Santiago and the *concejo* of Ocaña; another of November 20 deals with tributes owed by Cuenca to the Order of Santiago; a third charter of the same date records that the *omes bonos* of the *concejo* of Moya "con cartas de personería" complained of the Order of Santiago. (Consuelo G. del Arroyo, *Privilegios reales de la Orden de Santiago* [Madrid, n.d.], Nos. 362, 364, pp. 174-75; and *Bullarium equestris ordinis Sancti Iacobi de Spatha*, ed. José López Agurleta [Madrid, 1719], 184.)

¹²⁶ Antonio Ballesteros, *Las Cortes de 1252* (Madrid, 1911); Ismael García Ramila, "Ordenamientos de posturas y otros capítulos generales otorgados a la ciudad de Burgos por el rey Alfonso X," *Hispania*, V (Nos. 19, 20, 21, 1945), 179-235, 385-439, 605-50.

¹²⁷ Similar ordinances concerning weddings are found in *Fuero de Madrid*, ed. Sánchez, No. 115, p. 72; see also Fidel Fita, "Madrid desde el año 1235 hasta el de 1275," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, IX (July-Sept. 1886), 11-13, for the text of the ordinance dated April 25, 1235.

half century of growth and development. The Cortes had emerged from obscurity and had taken shape as an assembly of bishops, nobles, and representatives of the towns. The task of tracing the rise of these assemblies has been hampered by scanty documentation. Only occasionally do charters issuing from the royal chancery allude to exceptional events such as a meeting of the great council; extant documents promulgated in assemblies of this kind are few in number, and other texts clearly intended to have universal application do not specify whether they were promulgated in a *curia plena* or Cortes. Of the narrative sources, the *Latin Chronicle* is most attentive to recording meetings of the great council; if, as has been suggested, the author was Juan of Osma, the King's chancellor, this interest and the general exactitude of the chronicle are easily explained.¹²⁸ But the chronicle and that of Archbishop Rodrigo terminate after the fall of Córdoba in 1236; thus there is no detailed eyewitness account for the remaining fourteen years of Fernando III's reign when it is likely that the Cortes was convened more frequently than appears at present. Even so, the evidence is sufficient to affirm a steady development of the Cortes in the first half of the century.

The emergence of the Cortes must be viewed in the light of conditions in the kingdoms of León and Castile at the close of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. Unlike the contemporary Capetian kings in France, the Leonese-Castilian monarchy was essentially strong and capable of making its authority felt throughout the realm. Feudalism had not developed fully and had not brought about the disintegration of the state. Episcopal and noble lordships were comparatively few in number and of limited extent and were found principally in Galicia. Neither the bishops nor the nobles had yet achieved the immense wealth that enabled them to challenge the monarchy so frequently in the later medieval centuries. For the time being the king was the central and predominant figure in the political life of the two kingdoms. Because of his position as commander in chief he directed the reconquest and reserved exclusively to himself the distribution of the spoils and the colonization of reconquered territories. Bishops, nobles, military orders, and others, ambitious for riches, were dependent upon his favor. In sum, the king retained the substance of public power, though traditionally he sought counsel with the bishops and nobles before determining upon a specific policy.

Townsmen appeared in the royal council at a time when the towns had achieved significant status as units of territorial administration, as sources of

¹²⁸ Derek W. Lomax, "The Authorship of the *Chronique latine des rois de Castille*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, XL (Oct. 1963), 205-11.

large, mobile military forces, as important agricultural and pastoral communities, and, to a lesser extent, as nascent centers of trade and industry. By the close of the twelfth century their position in the administrative, military, and economic structure of the realm was such that they could not be ignored. No doubt the monarchy found it convenient to summon the townsmen to the great council for many reasons: to inquire into the administration of the municipalities, to adjudicate their lawsuits, to seek their counsel in military affairs, and to obtain their financial assistance.

The attendance of townsmen is explicitly recorded in the assemblies convened by Alfonso IX at León in 1188, Benavente in 1202, and León in 1208. They also participated in the assembly of Valladolid in 1217, which recognized Fernando III as king of Castile, and in the *curia* celebrated at Burgos two years later on the occasion of his marriage to Beatrice of Swabia. In 1230 they were present at the assembly at Benavente, which effected the reunion of León and Castile; they also attended an assembly at Burgos in 1241 and the Cortes held at Seville in 1250. Evidence for their presence at other assemblies is less definite, but it is possible that they took part in the *curia* held by Alfonso VIII at San Esteban de Gormaz in 1187 to arrange the marriage of the Infanta Berenguela and Conrad of Hohenstaufen and in the *curia* of Carrión in the following year when Conrad and Alfonso IX received knighthood from the King of Castile. Townsmen likely were present at Burgos in 1212 when Alfonso VIII confirmed their *fueros* and perhaps reduced their tributes; they may have returned to Burgos two years later to recognize his son Enrique I as king. There is also reason to believe that they participated in the *curia plena* convened by Alfonso IX at Zamora in 1221 and in the assembly held at Burgos in the following year to recognize the Infante Alfonso as heir to the Castilian throne. Possibly, too, they attended the *curia* at Burgos in 1224 to solemnize the wedding of John of Brienne and Berenguela of Castile. Probably they took part in assemblies at Carrión and Burgos in 1232 and 1233 and again at Burgos in 1237 for the wedding of Fernando III and Jeanne of Ponthieu.

The legal status of town representatives in the early royal assemblies is uncertain, inasmuch as the terminology used to describe them—chief men (*mainores*, *primores*), citizens (*cives*), good men (*bonos omnes*), men of the land (*gentes terre*, *los de la tierra*)—is not precise. Regulations in the *fueros* concerning the dispatch of agents to judicial assemblies suggest, however, that the chief men or citizens mentioned in 1187, 1188, 1202, 1208, and so on were the *alcaldes* or other elected officers of town government. Other indications are that they were men from the upper class of urban society, the

caballeros villanos. As the elected officials of the towns they were representatives of the towns and not agents appointed by the crown to control town government. From the second quarter of the thirteenth century when the towns began to send procurators to the royal court, it is likely that they were usually town officials or *caballeros*. Acceptance of the system of proctorial representation should cause no surprise since the Iberian Peninsula did not live in isolation from the rest of Europe, but had experienced a steady influence from north of the Pyrenees, especially from the eleventh century on. Just as Cluniac and Cistercian monasticism and Gregorian reform had had a powerful impact upon the peninsula, so too did the revival of Roman and canon law. Thus the use of procurators by individuals, ecclesiastical institutions, and towns became frequent before the middle of the thirteenth century. No doubt the *cartas de personería* that town representatives carried authorized them to bind their constituents by their actions. Whether summoned to the small *curia*, the *curia plena*, or the Cortes, their functions were essentially the same: to accept a judgment pronounced by the king's court or to give their assent to a policy proclaimed by the king after consultation with the principal political elements of the realm. For these purposes the monarchy must have realized the advisability of summoning town representatives fully empowered to commit their constituents to a judgment, a policy, or a course of action.¹²⁹

Although the documentation for the period is not extensive, a substantial portion of the business transacted while the Cortes was in session probably was judicial in nature. Most towns depended directly upon the king who retained ultimate jurisdiction over them as well as over the great ecclesiastical and secular lordships. Suits between lords, between towns, and between lords and towns could only receive final judgment in the king's court. The summoning of bishops, nobles, and townsmen to the royal court at the same time obviously facilitated the settlement of many lawsuits. The judicial role of the *curia plena* is clearly indicated by the text describing the assembly at Benavente in 1202. A dispute between the King and the *milites* of the realm concerning landholding was adjudicated by judges chosen in the *curia*. The assemblies held at Carrión and Burgos in 1232 and at Burgos in 1233 probably dealt largely with litigation, and the description of the King "librando sus pleitos con sus ricos omnes et con los de la tierra" at Burgos in 1241 strongly suggests that the essential work of that assembly was judicial. While the Cortes was in session at Seville in November 1250, documents issuing from the royal chancery indicate that lawsuits were being handled at the same

¹²⁹ See Post, "Plena Potestas and Consent," 108-19.

time. Many royal charters describing litigation do not refer to meetings of the *curia plena* or Cortes, but the concentration of such charters in a given month often leads one to suspect that an assembly had been convened to deal with these and other matters.¹³⁰

Convocation to the Cortes gave the townsmen opportunities to present their grievances to the king, but it is difficult to ascertain the extent of their influence on royal policy and legislation. The king had traditionally taken counsel with the bishops and magnates before enacting laws; townsmen were now included because they constituted a major factor in the political life of the realm. In the assemblies of 1188 and 1208 the King promulgated *decreta* or *constitutiones* of general import, and he usually declared that he did so with the counsel of those present, or after deliberation, or with the consent of everyone.¹³¹ The decrees of 1188 obviously benefited the townsmen in so far as the King promised to abide by the law of the land and to repress disorders and abuses of power, but it is not known what role the townsmen had in drafting these laws. The constitutions of 1208, on the other hand, concerned primarily the prelates and nobility. Alfonso IX's promise in 1188 to be guided by the counsel of the bishops, nobles, and townsmen in making war or peace may not have been intended to set down a constitutional principle of permanent validity, but may have been related to the immediate problem of determining what attitude to adopt in his dealings with Castile and Portugal. When Alfonso VIII confirmed the charters of the Castilian towns and perhaps reduced their tributes in 1212, he presumably acted with their counsel and consent. The right of the towns to petition the crown and to expect action upon their petitions is illustrated by the *cuaderno* of 1250. Fernando III declared that he had consulted the townsmen concerning the good estate of the realm (*buen paramiento de la tierra*), and he responded to the petitions that they presented to him. Numerous *cuadernos* of the next half century fully document the role of the *concejos* in legislation by the exercise of the right of petition.

Although Sánchez Albornoz has emphasized the king's financial need as the chief reason for summoning the townsmen to the Cortes, it is difficult to determine their role in financing the major campaigns of the reconquest. At

¹³⁰ Guglielmi ("Curia regia en León y Castilla," 83-85) discusses the judicial work of the Cortes.

¹³¹ Although the decrees of 1188 do not specifically state that the King took counsel, they do say that the bishops, knights, and citizens swore to be faithful in counsel. Other texts of 1188, 1194, and 1208 refer to counsel and common deliberation of all, common consent of all, common consent and counsel, counsel and deliberation, and so forth. (González, *Alfonso IX*, II, Nos. 11-12, 84-85, 221, pp. 23-27, 125-29, 306-309.) Piskorski, contrary to Colmeiro, holds that the Cortes had a deliberative role rather than a merely consultative one, at least until the end of the fourteenth century. (See Guglielmi, "Curia regia en León y Castilla," 86-90.)

the *curia* of Benavente in 1202 the towns granted the King an extraordinary subsidy known as *moneda*, in exchange for his pledge not to alter the coinage for seven years. But it has yet to be demonstrated that the king convened the Cortes every seven years to obtain consent to this levy; nor is there evidence that any of the other assemblies held in the first half of the thirteenth century granted the king an extraordinary tax. It is known that Fernando III obtained forced loans from the towns and collected *moneda* and that he and his predecessors also tapped the wealth of the clergy, but it is not until the second half of the century that we find detailed information about the participation of the Cortes in taxation.

The texts of the early thirteenth century reveal most clearly that the participation of townsmen in the recognition of a new sovereign, an heir to the throne or a newly wedded queen, was a principal reason for their being summoned to the Cortes. For this purpose they may have been called to the assemblies at San Esteban in 1187, Carrión in 1188, Benavente in 1202, and Burgos in 1214. In 1217 they played a large part in resolving the Castilian succession in favor of Fernando III; two years later they attended the *curia* celebrating his marriage to Beatrice of Swabia, and they probably took part in a similar assembly on the occasion of his second marriage. The Visigothic tradition had assigned to the bishops and nobles the task of proclaiming a new king; in this period the townsmen also came to share in it.¹³² This was the custom or tradition to which Alfonso X referred in 1255 when he declared that he had convoked the bishops, barons, and procurators of the cities and towns to acknowledge his daughter as heir to the throne.¹³³ In the *Siete Partidas* he set down regulations for convening the Cortes to proclaim a new sovereign or to provide for the government of the realm in case of a minority.¹³⁴ These laws reflect the problems and practices of the immediate past and do not mark any innovation on his part.

During the thirty-two years of Alfonso X's reign, the Cortes met quite regularly, on an average of about every two years. The composition of these assemblies and their functions are more fully documented as the *cuadernos* or records of decisions taken in them have survived in greater abundance. In addition the chronicles of the late thirteenth century give fuller accounts of

¹³² *Liber Iudiciorum, Primus Titulus*, in *Códigos españoles*, ed. San Martín, I, lxxvii. See the translation of this text authorized by Fernando III in *Fuero Juzgo, Primer Título*, *ibid.*, 100.

¹³³ Piskorski, *Cortes de Castilla*, 196-97.

¹³⁴ When the king died, the prelates, magnates, masters of the military orders, and good men of the cities attended to his burial and the recognition of his successor. If he died without adult heirs and had not named a guardian, then all of the principal men of the realm—the prelates, magnates, and good men of the towns—were assembled to choose a guardian. (*Siete Partidas, Segunda Partida*, *tít. XIII*, ley 9, *tít. XV*, leyes 3-5, in *Códigos españoles*, ed. San Martín, II, 400, 420-23.)

meetings of the Cortes. The sources reveal bishops, magnates, and townsmen meeting at Seville, Segovia, Toledo, Valladolid, and Burgos to deal with proposed changes in the coinage, the administration of justice, the regulation of weights, measures, prices, trade, usury, relations between Christians and Jews, and royal requests for money to meet the threat of Islam or to finance the quest for the imperial title. Clearly the Cortes had come into its own as a vigorous and vital factor in the political life of the kingdom of León-Castile.

Political Organization and Canvassing: Yorkshire Elections before the Reform Bill

ROBERT WORTHINGTON SMITH

"Who but madmen would enter a contest for such a county, or indeed for any county?" wrote Philip Francis to Christopher Wyvill in 1794, referring to a contest for the votes of freeholders in the county of Yorkshire. An electoral struggle for a seat in the House of Commons from Yorkshire, or any other large constituency, normally required a complex political organization including a central committee, a campaign manager, election agents throughout the constituency, a legion of postboys and runners to maintain communications, a headquarters clerical staff, and money. The difficulty that candidates faced in constructing and supporting an election organization is one factor in explaining why there were so few contested elections in English counties in the eighteenth century. At the general election in 1780 only freeholders in Cambridgeshire and Surrey went to the polls; in 1784 votes were recorded in only 7 of the 40 English counties. During the period 1754-1790 there were 6 general elections and 130 by-elections in English counties; of this total of 370 elections there were only 50 elections where the voters were polled, approximately 1 in every 7.¹

Yet there were more desperate fights for county seats than the polling records indicate. To consider as "contested" only constituencies where votes were recorded is misleading. It suggests a more limited degree of political activity and a lesser possibility for public opinion to make itself felt in open constituencies than actually existed. A closer investigation shows many instances where candidates conducted thorough preliminary canvasses and thereby determined the election.² A considerable number of what are recorded

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¹ *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, ed. Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke (3 vols., London, 1964), I, 514.

² As Mrs. Eric George remarked, "This assumption of no contest, and therefore no defeat, without polling is inconsistent with contemporary election practice." (Mrs. Eric George, "Fox's Martyrs; The General Election of 1784," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser.,

as "uncontested" elections should be described more accurately as elections contested up to that point, short of a poll, where candidates judged the outcome clearly would go against them. In 1780, for instance, there appear to have been more or less thorough canvasses, but no resort to the polls, in Bedfordshire, Cumberland, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire; in 1784 the same was true in Derbyshire, Dorset, Lancashire, Norfolk, Somerset, Staffordshire, Surrey, and Yorkshire.³

The high cost of a formal poll in a large constituency forced politicians to find alternatives to calling the voters into the booths. One alternative, which two-member constituencies made possible, was for two factions to compromise, each nominating one candidate and by their united front frightening off others. Another alternative, which might in itself lead to a compromise, was to substitute a canvass for a poll.⁴ Canvassing in the eighteenth century could mean campaigning in a general fashion by the candidate and his friends: meeting voters, making speeches, creating good will. "Canvassing quietly," William Wilberforce noted in his diary in 1796 while helping his friend Samuel Thornton, who hoped to slide through for Hull with a low-keyed campaign.⁵ When used in a more specific sense in the age of the open ballot, canvassing meant to list by name the voters who promised and who denied their votes to a candidate. This formal type of canvass required the candidate to set up an organization to direct the canvass during the weeks before Election Day. If his organization was weak, his canvass was likely to be a hasty affair, started without sufficient funds or friends and quickly abandoned after the strength of the opposition had been tested. An energetically conducted canvass often had the desired effect of frightening an opponent from demanding a poll. At times a candidate continued his canvass up to the opening of voting day before he acknowledged that his chances did not justify spending large additional sums of money on a poll. Public opinion made itself felt through the canvass as clearly as

XXI [1939], 136.) Quite incorrect are older statements that because there were only fifty-seven contested county elections in England and Wales between 1760 and 1800, "fewer than one in eleven of the members who sat for the counties of England and Wales in these years met with even nominal opposition." (*The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson, 1774-1784*, ed. W. T. Laprade [London, 1922], x.)

³ Preliminary canvasses decided elections in open boroughs also: a list for 1784 would include Great Yarmouth, Hereford, Ipswich, Leicester, Reading, Worcester, and probably Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Southampton. (*House of Commons, 1754-1790*, ed. Namier and Brooke.)

⁴ An unusual regularization of this alternative to polling was agreed upon at the Gloucestershire by-election in 1781: "It was suggested that the canvass returns should be impartially examined, and the weaker candidate advised to decline. In January 1781 Berkeley retired, and Dutton was elected unopposed." (*Ibid.*, I, 283.)

⁵ R. I. Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce* (5 vols., London, 1839), II, 149.

through the voting booth, whether that opinion was the freely exercised voice of a Yorkshire clothier or the directed vote of a tenant on a nobleman's estate. A canvass could, of course, also be a prologue to a poll, with the candidates using the information acquired in the canvass to marshal their supporters. A properly conducted canvass was something more than a random sampling of opinion; it was more thorough than modern polls and more accurate because the canvassed voter later exposed himself before the polling clerk for all to see if he welshed on his promise.⁶ An examination of elections over nearly a century in one county constituency, Yorkshire, makes apparent the time and money often spent in an "uncontested" election. The purpose of this article is to point out how unsatisfactory for purposes of political analysis is the continuing use of the terms "contested" and "uncontested" elections and to indicate how important was an adequate political organization if a candidate was seriously contending for a county seat.

Yorkshire, with over twenty thousand voters before the end of the eighteenth century, was the largest constituency in Britain. Its very size made the task facing political aspirants more difficult. In the century before the Reform Bill there were twenty general elections and five by-elections, but in only four of these elections was a poll taken: 1734, 1741, 1807, 1830. There was, however, no shortage of electoral challenges in this century; half the elections were challenged. The point is that challenges were usually settled without recourse to the polls. Given the facts of politics in the old regime, such as the importance of money (not unique to that age) and the influence of landlords over freeholders, and recognizing the significance of the formal canvass, it is difficult to believe that if a poll had been taken the outcome would have been different in any of these twenty-one "uncontested" elections.

Yorkshire's numerous gentry and thousands of small freeholders had a reputation for political independence. The second Marquess of Rockingham built up an interest in the county after 1754, but his influence was limited, and he had little in the way of organization. He favored Sir George Savile who represented the county after 1759 and who owed his successive re-elections more to his reputation as an upright, sagacious, and industrious member of Parliament than to help from Rockingham. Savile appeared at the county races and other functions where the gentry assembled and showed a proper concern for the economic well-being of freeholder

⁶ "The keeping of election promises—on whatever basis and by whatever means they were obtained—was considered a matter of honour." (Sir Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* [2d ed., London, 1957], 159.)

clothiers engaged in the woolen and worsted industry. He maintained close personal relations with Rockingham, which was less true of the other Yorkshire M.P., Edwin Lascelles, who voted independently in Parliament as often as he followed Rockingham's lead. Lascelles' selection in 1761 was typical of Yorkshire politics in that he owed his seat to a canvass, not an election at the polls. After Lascelles and his opponent, Charles Turner, had canvassed the county, Savile asked to see the lists of their respective friends in order that he might decide whom to support. Turner refused, and Savile, after examining Lascelles' list, then joined with Lascelles. Turner thereupon withdrew.⁷

A new influence in Yorkshire politics came with the rise after 1779 of the reformist Yorkshire Association organized by one of the leading gentry, Christopher Wyvill. The first aim of the association was to focus public pressure on the government's waste of money through sinecure offices and unmerited pensions, "whence the crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country."⁸ Such sentiments appealed to Rockingham, the chief of the opposition against Lord North's government. Wyvill, however, saw economical reform as only a first step toward reform of the House of Commons. The association soon obtained 5,800 signatures of freeholders to a petition in favor of three-year terms of Parliament instead of seven and the addition of one hundred county members to the Commons. Rockingham and his friends were not enthusiastic over the petition, but common agreement on the need for economical reform and opposition to North's government ensured an uneasy alliance between Rockingham and the Associators.

This political alliance paved the way for the surprising Yorkshire election of September 1780 that brought victory for Henry Duncombe over Lascelles, although it is not listed as a contested election because it never went to a poll. Lascelles, who had represented Yorkshire for nineteen years, was the head of one of the great landed families of the West Riding, with wealth that was buttressed by a West Indian fortune. He lost Rockingham's support when he sided with North's government during the American war, but North's political agent, John Robinson, believed Lascelles was safe in

⁷ Cedric Collyer, "The Rockingham Connection and Country Opinion in the Early Years of George III," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, VII (Dec. 1955), 254. At the earlier by-election of 1741 (January 21, 1741-42) between Cholmley Turner and George Fox the returns of the canvass were examined by representatives from the wapentakes. Two of the principal political figures in the county disputed the number of promises for Fox and advised him to withdraw. Fox refused, however, and was defeated. For a description of the canvass and organization of Cholmley Turner, see *id.*, "The Yorkshire Election of 1741," *ibid.* (Oct. 1953), 143-45.

⁸ *Annual Register*, 1780 (2d ed., London, 1788), 338.

1780, noting that he had "ready money to fight with and a fortune not easily hurt."⁹ Robinson doubted that Rockingham's influence in Yorkshire was strong enough to oust Lascelles. It is clear that Rockingham would have done nothing if leaders of the Yorkshire Association had not encouraged Duncombe to come forward on September 8 as a candidate paired with Savile. Duncombe was an early member of Wyvill's association and also was on excellent terms with Rockingham. Savile, whose seat was never in doubt, publicly accepted Duncombe and, with reservations, the association's program. Thus followers of Rockingham and the Associators could cooperate fully in a campaign to elect Savile and Duncombe. According to Lady Rockingham, her husband became "quite worn down with fatigue" from writing letters urging friends to support Duncombe.¹⁰

It was the association, however, that supplied the political muscle for the campaign as it provided from its members the election committee to raise a subscription and agents to carry on a canvass. As a result of its earlier petitioning activities the association had workers throughout the county who now became canvassing agents for Savile and Duncombe. William Gray, the solicitor who served as the association's full-time paid clerk, supervised their activities. Members of the association subscribed almost all of the £14,080 election fund.¹¹ As William Mason, a leading spirit in the association, wrote to Horace Walpole, "we have done for him [Rockingham] what he would never have dared to do for himself. . . . An opposition in the county of York would never have been ventured upon. And yet we have proved its practicability."¹²

Lascelles fought back with the usual speeches, published advertisements, and canvassing of voters. With the election scheduled for September 27 he summoned his friends to meet on September 16, but his friends proved "not numerous or considerable," and he thereupon withdrew.¹³ His canvassing efforts no doubt had shown the same trend as did the canvassing by his

⁹ Quoted in *House of Commons, 1754-1790*, ed. Namier and Brooke, III, 23.

¹⁰ Burke Papers, quoted by Ian R. Christie, *The End of North's Ministry, 1780-1782* (London, 1958), 115.

¹¹ This information is cited in Eugene C. Black, *The Association, British Extraparliamentary Political Organization 1769-1793* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 70 n.

¹² *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with William Mason*, ed. W. S. Lewis (2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1955), II, 79.

¹³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland* (4 vols., London, 1888-1905), III, 36. Lascelles was criticized for withdrawing by Lord Loughborough, who complained that Lascelles had been frightened by the success of his opponents in raising money to carry the contest to the polls when "the small amount of the subscription against him, which was less than £15,000, of which only 1/5 was to be paid down, and the remainder promised in four months, ought to have encouraged him." (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, Pt. VI, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle* [10 vols., London, 1897], VI, 445.) Lascelles knew, however, the results of the canvassing and was in a better position to judge whether money alone could bring him victory.

opponents. In the first stage of the opposition's canvass they obtained promises for Savile and Duncombe from two-thirds of the 2,063 voters queried.¹⁴ Mason could well boast that the association "has plucked every peacock's feather out of the tail of that strutting carrion crow L[ascelles], and . . . frightened the Lord Paramount of the West India Islands out of the contest. Nothing was ever a more complete victory and nothing ever more easily obtained."¹⁵ The victory seemed easily obtained because the association had a network of voluntary agents throughout the county, a most capable director in Gray, and an efficient money-raising organization. It was an inexpensive victory, too, for it appears to have cost the supporters of Savile and Duncombe only about one-tenth of their subscriptions.¹⁶

Political organization was again a decisive factor in Yorkshire in the general election of 1784 when the Yorkshire Association registered another and greater victory for its candidates without a formal poll. In 1784 the association, instead of being allied with the foremost aristocratic influence in the county as in 1780, pitted itself against that influence. When Rockingham died in 1782, his Yorkshire lands and electoral interests were inherited by his nephew, Earl Fitzwilliam. Not as well known in the county nor yet as politically adroit as his uncle, Fitzwilliam was more hostile to parliamentary reform.¹⁷ Fitzwilliam and Wyvill agreed in supporting Francis Foljambe for the seat of Savile upon his retirement in 1783,¹⁸ but cooperation broke down as the nation divided over the constitutionality of the King's dismissal on December 18, 1783, of the Fox-North ministry. Fitzwilliam was a close friend of Fox and the projected head of the India board under Fox's controversial India bill; thus he was committed to the unpopular side of the issue that stirred the kingdom. Wyvill and the majority of the Committee of Association supported the newly formed government of the Younger Pitt, and did so with great enthusiasm since Pitt had introduced in 1783 a motion to increase county representation in the Commons, though the motion had failed.

Champions of the Younger Pitt forced the issue with Fitzwilliam by proposing that Yorkshire join the many other counties that were sending

¹⁴ N. C. Phillips, "The British General Election of 1780," *Political Science*, XI (Sept. 1959), 12, referring to a leather-bound volume in the City Library at York containing the returns of the canvass.

¹⁵ *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with William Mason*, ed. Lewis, II, 79.

¹⁶ Phillips, "British General Election of 1780," 12.

¹⁷ "If the County could find out the propriety of looking for a good government, and not for a new Constitution, there might be hopes of giving Harry Duncombe a shove and knocking up the Association altogether." (Lord Fitzwilliam to William Weddell, Dec. 23, 1783, Ramsden MSS, No. 2, III, 84, in the Leeds Public Library.)

¹⁸ For a detailed account of Foljambe's candidacy, see N. C. Phillips, *Yorkshire and English National Politics, 1783-1784* (Christchurch, N. Z., 1961).

addresses of thanks to the King for his dismissal of Fox and North. At the meeting held in the Castle Yard at York on March 25, amid blasts of wind and rain, the assembled freeholders on a show of hands carried the Wyvill proposal. William Wilberforce, M.P. for Hull and a close friend of Pitt but up to that time not a member of the association, gave a speech that was the sensation of the meeting: in a voice that rose above the storm, he condemned the coalition "as a Union of men who disagreed, not only as to the American war, but had never agreed on any one principle."¹⁹ "I saw," reported James Boswell, "what seemed a mere shrimp mount upon the table; but, as I listened, he grew and grew, until the shrimp became a whale."²⁰ Fitzwilliam's friends then withdrew from the association, but Wyvill succeeded in keeping a majority of the group together.

What the Pittites needed was a candidate to oppose Foljambe who now stood firmly in Fitzwilliam's camp. Wilberforce, who had made himself politically visible by his speech, now made himself indispensable by his gifts of conciliation. In 1784 the man who later became famous as an antislavery leader was twenty-four. He had proved himself a ready debator in the House of Commons, but was little known outside Hull and its immediate vicinity. Lacking the social position of a Savile, a Duncombe, or a Foljambe, he never could have been nominated a knight for the shire except that the radical Yorkshire Association was temporarily an electoral power in the county. The poor showing of Fitzwilliam's faction at the county meeting made them eager to avoid an election contest, and they suggested that each party nominate one candidate and agree to support these two against any others that might come forward.²¹ Duncombe and Foljambe then would have been re-elected. Wilberforce persuaded the two groups who supported Pitt, the Whig-oriented gentry who were members of the association, on the one hand, and the Tory-oriented clothiers on the other, to forget their political differences, combine their forces, and reject the compromise. Their differences centered on the enthusiasm of the first group for parliamentary reform, while the second group clung to the "old constitution" which the King clearly preferred. As Wilberforce recalled years later to his sons, after the victory dinner the two groups fell to quarreling and,

began to say, we may as well go about our business, we can't agree together. Upon this I got up and made a long speech I may say with great animation, showing them that he was the greatest friend to his country who forgot his private differences for the sake of benefitting it, etc. This pleased them very

¹⁹ *York Courant*, Mar. 30, 1784.

²⁰ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, I, 54.

²¹ Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, E-11, in the Sheffield Central Library; Gray Papers, M90: 46, in the York City Library. This and following references to the Wentworth Woodhouse documents are made by courtesy of Earl Fitzwilliam.

much and they determined that every one should go into his own neighbourhood and see whether he had sufficient strength to encounter the great body of the aristocracy that was arrayed against us. . . . I appeared to be so independent and to observe so strict a neutrality that they both joined in asking me.²²

The Foxites nominated Foljambe and William Weddell who was a large landholder and had represented the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam borough of Malton since 1775.

A canvass between March 26 and April 6 showed the superiority of the association's county-wide organization that had developed in their petitioning activities of the preceding years and had been strengthened by their canvassing experience of 1780. Gray again directed an election committee in a most systematic canvass, appointing agents for each part of every wapentake, or electoral division. Gray instructed them to obtain the names of eligible voters from the duplicate returns of the tax assessments on land, which from 1780 had been deposited with the clerk of the peace. Many canvassers donated their time, though in some areas Gray had to employ paid agents. In the hurry of the canvass mistakes were made; Gray later suggested that another time it would be best to have a printed list of the towns in each wapentake with a more careful designation of agents, "many towns having been unattended to, while others have been canvassed repeatedly by different persons in the same interest and double or triple returns made to the superintending committee at York."²³

In the event of polling, every voter had to go to York, and few freeholders would stir from home unless they were assured of free transportation and lodging. Gray therefore tentatively engaged horses, chaises, and inns on the road to York. He also secured on behalf of Duncombe and Wilberforce two-thirds of the public houses and stables, as well as considerable private housing, in the city.²⁴ Though these preparations proved unnecessary, they helped to convince Fitzwilliam that the association was prepared to fight to the end.

The secretarial help needed to make a proper canvass of so large a constituency as Yorkshire was staggering. As the names came in from local agents Gray had them entered in books arranged by wapentakes, with voters listed alphabetically by township. Thus he knew the number and names of voters who had given answers favorable to Duncombe and Wilberforce and those favorable to their opponents "with some degree of accuracy." Clerks working into the night then made separate lists for each polling booth. Had the contest gone to a poll, these lists would have been used by Duncombe-Wilberforce poll watchers who would have paid attention to the local agents'

²² "Robert I. Wilberforce manuscript memoranda," Wilberforce Wrangham MSS, in the possession of Mr. C. E. Wrangham, and kept at Rosemary House, Catterick, Yorkshire.

²³ Gray Papers, M90:52.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

"hints to check the bad votes" of the opposition and to support "the disreputable voters" of their own party.²⁵

The Foljambe-Weddell committee was off to a slower start since it lacked a ready-made election organization. Sir Thomas Gascoigne was appointed chairman with Earl Fitzwilliam as deputy chairman though Fitzwilliam's attorney, Richard Fenton, supervised all details.²⁶ They discovered that men they wanted to appoint as local agents were already engaged by their opponents. They had great difficulty, for instance, finding a responsible agent for Northallerton, and the one they finally found reported that "every person in this town and neighbourhood are [*sic*] engaged to support the other candidates, . . . the gentlemen here having begun to canvass in their favour a week ago." Friends from the Richmond area reported: "This quarter is very much with Pitt and the Association."²⁷ Pitt had been gathering support for Wilberforce in the Cambridge colleges and subscriptions for him in London, including a contribution from Sir James Lowther, whose great wealth, together with his control of nine seats in the House of Commons, made him a political power. One of Fitzwilliam's agents bemoaned the loss of Lowther's support in his section of the county.²⁸ By nomination day, April 2, it was clear that Foljambe and Weddell were falling behind; thus renewed attempts were made by the supporters of Fox to arrange a compromise, but without success.²⁹

The Duncombe-Wilberforce canvass was comparatively efficient because a skeletal organization was already in existence through the Yorkshire Association and because Gray was an unusually efficient campaign manager. Their canvass covered 13,570 freeholders, perhaps two-thirds of all eligible voters, of whom 10,812 favored the candidates of the association, and 2,758 were listed as opposed or undecided.³⁰ With the Foljambe-Weddell agents reporting that "Wakefield and the towns round about there will send twenty votes and upwards for our one; . . . the other party will carry 30 votes for 1 against us out of Halifax parish,"³¹ Fitzwilliam and the committee decided that the contest was hopeless. On the evening of April 6, with polling to begin the next morning, Foljambe and Weddell withdrew.

To cover the costs of the Duncombe-Wilberforce campaign £22,351 were

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, E-11.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, E-20.

²⁸ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Thirteenth Report*, Appendix, Pt. VII, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Lonsdale (8 vols., London, 1897), VII, 144; Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, E-20.

²⁹ William Weddell to his wife, Apr. 3, 1784, Ramsden MSS, No. 3, III, 42.

³⁰ Gray Papers, M90:53. In their father's biography the Wilberforce sons give the figures as 11,173 promises to Duncombe and Wilberforce and 2,510 doubtful or against. (Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, I, 61 n.)

³¹ Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, E-20.

subscribed, but all except £4,000 was returned.³² Payments to agents and clerks, the cost of letters, parcels, post horses, and "expresses," and the miscellaneous expenses of getting ready to go to a poll were heavy. A large part of the four thousand pounds was not spent on the preliminary campaign, but represented payments for lodging and refreshments of voters sent to York on April 6 and 7 for the poll to open on the latter day. Gray was a sharp businessman and knew that in an election landlords, liverymen, postboys, and voters all expected to be well rewarded. He demanded itemized statements, and the innkeepers sent in their bills which always included a generous item for drink. A typical bill was: "18 men eating, £2 2s.; 18 men liquors, £5 6s.; 18 horses hay and corn, £1 6s."³³ When Gray believed he was overcharged he refused to pay in full, reducing to £40 one innkeeper's bill of £72 15s.6d. Noting at the bottom of another bill, "almost all sat up the whole night," he offered £30 to settle a claim for £36 11s.6d. "Overcharged 31 miles" was his notation on a bill of £23 11s. for "expresses" of horse and rider at 1s. a mile.³⁴ By such close auditing Gray returned £18,351 to subscribers.

Each committee paid the carpenters half the cost of building ten polling booths; the sheriff was paid £72 18s.4d., one-half the expense of engaging fifty constables, hiring "proper persons" to take the poll, ruling the poll-books, and so forth.³⁵ These charges were more properly the costs of an election rather than a canvass and helped to make the Yorkshire contest of 1784 expensive. There was a further gift from the victorious party of "sixty seven pounds and sixpence to be applied in or toward the discharge of prisoners confined in York Castle for small debts."³⁶ A subscription totaling £15,067 was raised for Foljambe and Weddell, of which a large part was Fitzwilliam's money.³⁷ How much was actually spent is not clear, but their expenses were reduced because they canceled in time instructions to their agents to forward voters to York.

Duncombe and Wilberforce, with the assistance of the Yorkshire Association, had avoided a contest at the polls. Yet the unity of the association had been shattered, and within a year it ceased to be a force in the county. The two members could not again expect assistance from the organization

³² Gray Papers, M90:47. Wilberforce's biography gives the subscription as £18,670 (Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, I, 62); Wyvill as "more than £20,000" (*Political Papers, chiefly respecting the Attempt of the County of York and other Considerable Districts . . . to effect a Reformation of the Parliament of Great Britain* [6 vols., York, 1794-1808], IV, 13). Duncombe and Wilberforce each subscribed two thousand pounds, but at the request of the other subscribers it was all returned to them.

³³ Gray Papers, M90:24.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 15, 16.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁷ Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, E-12.

that had carried them to victory. Their political strength now rested upon their advantage as incumbents, and, as friends of the administration, they had the best wishes of Pitt's government, slight though that benefit might be; in addition they paid close attention to the interests of their constituents. The collapse of the association was of less concern to Duncombe, who was better known, and who, as a member of the landed gentry, had more friends among that influential class. Wilberforce owned a small estate at Markington in the West Riding, but was no country gentleman. He lacked anything of the rustic touch, and his sentiments would have shocked a true country gentleman: "Went on to look at my land: my land just like any one else's land."³⁸

How could a man with no pretension to social leadership among the gentry, without a wealthy aristocratic patron, and with only a moderate fortune hope to retain a seat in a county such as Yorkshire? At first Wilberforce leaned heavily on Duncombe and Wyvill and often asked the latter's advice on political matters: Could Wyvill assist in persuading Duncombe to accompany Wilberforce on a week's tour among their clothier constituents in the West Riding? Would the advantage of an additional five hundred or six hundred pounds a year to Wilberforce's income by becoming a silent partner in the Hull merchant firm of Wilberforce, Smiths & Co. be outweighed by the disadvantage of Yorkshire squires thinking the county "degraded by having a merchant for its representative?" Should not he and Duncombe attend the meeting at Bradford on the bill to limit the export of wool, which was so warmly supported throughout the whole district?³⁹ Wilberforce worked hard to consolidate his position by frequent visits among his constituents and attention to their correspondence. He was willing to practice the most practical politics as when he asked his friend William Hey, the Leeds surgeon, to send him names of influential persons in his neighborhood together with useful observations such as, "whether he likes the leg or wing of a fowl best, that when one dines with him one may win his heart."⁴⁰

When Wilberforce became seriously ill in 1788, Lord Fitzwilliam hoped that Lord Downe might be brought in at the next election. Wilberforce recovered, however, and Fitzwilliam had to agree with Downe that Wilberforce had so built up his interest in the county that it was hopeless to oppose him.⁴¹ Wilberforce's activity in Parliament, his closeness to the Prime

³⁸ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, I, 310.

³⁹ Wilberforce to Wyvill, July 25, Oct. 22, 1787, Letterbook, Wilberforce Wrangham MSS.

⁴⁰ *Correspondence of William Wilberforce*, ed. R. I. Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce (2 vols., London, 1840), I, 76.

⁴¹ Downe to Fitzwilliam, Aug. 31, 1788, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, F-34g; Fitzwilliam to Downe, Sept. 16, 1788, *ibid.*

Minister, his attention to his constituents, and his advantage as incumbent were sufficient to ensure his re-election unopposed with Duncombe in 1790.

Wilberforce survived four more general elections: 1796, 1802, 1806, and 1807. One seat was thus held for twenty-eight years by as able a man as ever represented the county. In three of these four general elections electoral challenges resulted in a change of the other Yorkshire representative: Henry Lascelles won his seat against two other candidates in 1796; Walter Fawkes drove Lascelles out in 1806; Lord Milton defeated Lascelles after Fawkes had dropped out in the election of 1807. In these three elections there were opposition and extensive canvassing, but only in 1807 was there a contest at the polls.

Wilberforce's long continuance in his Yorkshire seat was due to a combination of personal qualities, national reputation, and the good luck or wisdom to align himself on the popular side of important issues. Since he had little money or political organization and did not court popularity, his success is the more revealing. Because of his religious principles he refused to attend the York races or participate in the gay social life of the season as had been expected of a knight of the shire. After the election of 1796 he practically ceased to visit the gentry or show himself in the cloth halls except at election time. He refused, on principle, to use his influence with Pitt's government to obtain personal favors for his supporters. Thus his standing with the gentry suffered. He exerted himself, on the other hand, to investigate grievances of his constituents and to support their legitimate demands. He opposed measures, such as a tax on iron, that would bear heavily on Yorkshire. His connections by birth and friendship with men of commerce and banking won him the confidence of many middle-class voters. In Wilberforce Yorkshire had a representative who attended the Commons regularly, spoke frequently and effectively, and, though he usually voted with Pitt, managed to maintain a reputation for independence.

Each election was different in the significance that national issues, local issues, and the candidates' political style exercised in determining the result. Behind the election of 1796 was the issue of the Treasonous Practices and Seditious Meetings Acts of Pitt's government. During the previous six months a controversy had raged over the two acts that redefined treason as speaking or writing against the government and forbade meetings of over fifty persons except by the license and presence of a magistrate. As in 1784 a meeting of the freeholders of the county was summoned to petition the King, and as in 1784 the Pittites successfully carried their address supporting the two acts and won the subsequent election. Wilberforce again made an eloquent speech as he defended Pitt. Otherwise the situation of

1784 was reversed as Wyvill and Duncombe now found themselves in opposition to Pitt and Wilberforce. Soon after the county meeting Duncombe decided that since he clearly differed from the majority of his Yorkshire constituents he should stand down.⁴²

His retirement brought three candidates into the field: his nephew, Charles Duncombe; Walter Fawkes; and Henry Lascelles. Duncombe, later Baron Feversham, represented his family interest. Fawkes of Farnley Hall put himself forward as a typical country gentleman, standing "upon the independence of the County." He was a cultured man of easy habits who took an interest in agricultural improvements. He had not yet come forth as a parliamentary reformer; nor did he make a particular issue of opposing Pitt's acts. He appealed to the gentry, who would be represented by one of their own if they could swing the election to him. Lascelles, son of Lord Harewood, supported the ministry and its repressive acts. All three candidates agreed to ask their supporters to give second votes to Wilberforce.

None of the candidates had a strong political organization that could engage in systematic canvassing. Duncombe was late in starting his canvass and quickly withdrew after his friends made a poor showing at the meeting where the candidates were formally nominated. Fawkes and Lascelles canvassed more methodically, but their efforts fell short of the professionalism shown by Gray and the Yorkshire Association in 1784. Their respective success may be indicated by the equal number of supporters assembled at the meeting,⁴³ but Wilberforce thought that Fawkes had the upper hand. The eagerness with which Lascelles' friends urged an alliance upon Wilberforce, because both men supported Pitt, suggests that Lascelles' canvassers were having difficulties. Wilberforce had declared his neutrality and resisted the importunities of those of his supporters who were also friends of Lascelles even when they threatened to desert him.⁴⁴ Whatever advantage in the canvass Fawkes had was not large enough to frighten Lascelles, who had Harewood's resources behind him. One report estimated Harewood's fortune at "£30,000 a year and £200,000 in money," as compared to Fawkes's estate of "between 7 and £8000 a year, with some incumbrance on it."⁴⁵ Fawkes decided he could not raise enough money to make an effective challenge and withdrew. His decision might have been different if the chairman of his committee had not mislaid an unopened letter promising support from the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Devonshire, and Earl Fitzwilliam.

⁴² Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, II, 150-51.

⁴³ *London Morning Chronicle*, June 2, 1796.

⁴⁴ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, II, 152-53.

⁴⁵ *The Farington Diary*, ed. James Greig (8 vols., London, 1923-28), I, 108, 149-50.

Such are the accidents of politics in a hurried campaign. Wilberforce thought it a capital story when he was assured of its authenticity by one of Fawkes's chief committeemen; it was an accident for which he had good reason to be thankful because instead of having to stand his share of the expenses of a poll he spent less than a hundred pounds.⁴⁶

Ten years later in another "uncontested" election, a thorough campaign and canvass similar to the Yorkshire Association's efforts in 1780 and 1784 made a formal poll unnecessary. For a second time Fawkes and Lascelles engaged in a struggle for a Yorkshire seat, but the outcome of 1796 was reversed in 1806. Planning his campaign well in advance and obtaining a clear commitment from Lord Fitzwilliam, Fawkes began to canvass as soon as Fitzwilliam gave him advance information on the coming dissolution of Parliament. Behind his candidacy was the desire of the recently appointed Grenville ministry, in which Fitzwilliam was minister without portfolio, to strengthen its position in the Commons. Though Fitzwilliam's support tended to cast a cloud over Fawkes's claim to represent the independence of the Yorkshire gentry, Fawkes needed Fitzwilliam's money and help in organizing a canvass. Fitzwilliam's political influence had increased over the years, and he and his chief political agent, the solicitor Charles Bouns, knew best how to organize a campaign.

Local issues were uppermost in the campaign of 1806. Lascelles was vulnerable because he had made himself unpopular with the clothiers who formed so large a part of the freeholders of the West Riding. In Yorkshire most of the woollen and worsted cloth was manufactured under the domestic system by clothiers who might employ a few journeymen and who sold their goods in the nearby cloth hall. Most clothiers had a freeholder vote because they were on the land tax assessment rolls for their few acres. They looked upon the increasing use of machinery as a threat to their livelihood. Earlier in the year a parliamentary committee had taken evidence as to whether obsolete laws requiring apprenticeship and banning machinery in the woollen industry should be enforced. The committee report, written by Wilberforce, gave the clothiers little satisfaction as it discounted the threat that factories posed to the domestic system and recommended repeal of the apprenticeship and antimachinery statutes.⁴⁷ Wilberforce, however, diplomatically inserted some paragraphs praising the domestic system as encouraging family virtues and contributing to the health and morals of

⁴⁶ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, II, 153, 161.

⁴⁷ *Report from the Committee on the Woollen Manufacture of England, Parliamentary Papers*, 1806, III, 570.

the community; he repeated these sentiments publicly. Toward the clothiers who came to London to give evidence Wilberforce acted "like a gentleman," whereas Lascelles treated them as hostile witnesses; a trustee of the Leeds cloth hall told Wilberforce that he was "never so insulted."⁴⁸ Almost every clothier would vote against Lascelles, and this consideration no doubt encouraged Fawkes again to come forward in 1806 when he had held back in 1802. "The cry is that you are an enemy to trade and to the inferior manufacturers," Lascelles' agents soon were reporting.⁴⁹

Before the members from Yorkshire realized they faced opposition, Fawkes's canvassing organization was at work. "Fawke's [*sic*] canvass goes on beyond all expectations," wrote Earl Fitzwilliam to Lord Grenville on October 24 before Wilberforce had barely set foot within the county and while Lascelles and his chief agent, Edward Wooley, were still marking time. Circular letters, announcements, and handbills that customarily were issued during an election contest trumpeted the virtues of Fawkes. Soon his friends were boasting that Fawkes was safe and that it was only a question of which of the old members would fail.⁵⁰

Wilberforce, who had not stood the full strain of an election since 1784, was now forced to campaign in earnest. At York he consulted with his chief friends who set up a committee with Sir Mark Sykes as chairman. In his spare time the candidate was dashing off letters—"near seventy letters" on Saturday, October 25, and an equal number on Monday. Already his friends in several places had formed local committees and issued circulars: 113 signatures of supporters in York lauding him as a friend of religion and an opponent of the slave trade; 10 trustees of the Methodist chapel in Leeds announcing their support.⁵¹ While his friends began to set up the machinery for a canvass, Wilberforce made a campaign tour through the more populous towns of the West Riding. Political campaigning then as now meant speeches, meeting many people, campaign breakfasts and dinners. He noted in his diary:

On to Sheffield, where a large party waiting for me. . . . Meant to go to Cutlers' Hall, . . . but populace would drag us to Town Hall, where joined and thanked by cutlers for Iron-tax opposition—speechified them. . . . Immense concourse. Sea of faces. I endeavoured to walk, but soon forced to take to carriage and dragged all round for half an hour (several run over, but not much hurt). . . .

⁴⁸ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, III, 281.

⁴⁹ Letters from election agents to Lascelles, Oct. 28, 1806, Harewood MSS, Harewood Estate Record Office, Yorkshire.

⁵⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue preserved at Dropmore* (10 vols., London, 1892-1927), VIII, 396.

⁵¹ A. Bartholoman, *Report of the Proceedings Relative to the Election for Yorkshire, November 13, 1806* (York, [1806]).

Off before breakfast for Bradford . . . to Cloth Hall and speechified. . . . To Wakefield—met a mile off, and drawn by people into town to inn, where addressed the people in the marketplace. . . . Saturday, after breakfast large party of gentlemen came on horseback from Halifax . . . to convey me to town. . . . They would chair me to the inn. One man threw something which hit me on the forehead, happily not hard, and I kept watching afterwards. Amazing squeeze . . . especially going through the gorges of the gates and narrow streets.⁵²

When three candidates were contending for two seats, there was always the question whether they should be independent or whether it was advantageous for two of them to combine forces and canvass for each other. Though his sympathies were with Lascelles and though the two had made in 1802 a joint tour of the principal county towns as a method of discouraging any opposition from arising in the election of that year,⁵³ Wilberforce broke his connection with his Pittite friend and walked the cloth halls alone. The clothiers were so incensed with Lascelles that they threatened to give single votes, "plumpers," to Fawkes and withhold their other vote if Wilberforce joined Lascelles. Yet the break distressed many of the supporters of Wilberforce, who could no longer canvass also for Lascelles. Wilberforce had a strong following among merchants and men engaged in commerce who preferred Lascelles over Fawkes. The clothiers would vote for anyone but Lascelles. Many of the country gentry supported Lascelles and Fawkes. Wilberforce believed, in fact, that some of Lascelles' friends among the gentry had encouraged Fawkes, "thinking that they could turn me out without great difficulty; whereas almost all the respectable people who are not connected with great men, when it comes to the point of choosing between Lascelles and me, gave him up without hesitation."⁵⁴ Wilberforce ran his canvass inexpensively, depending on voluntary efforts of friends, hiring no agents, refusing to accept any subscriptions until it was clear that the election would go to a poll.

In spite of Wilberforce's rather amateur political organization and unsystematic canvass, he was a more effective campaigner than either of his opponents. He had a reservoir of political strength among voters who were attracted to his religious character, especially after the publication in 1797 of his widely read *Practical View of Christianity*. His opposition to the slave trade was popular and was correctly viewed as a reflection of his religious commitment. Most Dissenters and the Methodists who were be-

⁵² Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, III, 281-84.

⁵³ Lascelles' ten-page election diary of 1802, edited by B. A. English, is printed in the *National Register of Archives Bulletin*, No. 5 (May 1962), 10-19.

⁵⁴ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, III, 282.

coming so numerous in the West Riding promised Wilberforce their votes. "Indeed the support of the society of Methodists was the more gratifying on account of their not in general taking part in Election matters," he wrote to his Methodist friend Joseph Butterworth after the election.⁵⁵ His reputation built over a period of twenty-two years, plus the loyalty of his friends, would no doubt have carried him to the top of a poll. Victory was made certain when Lord Grenville persuaded Fitzwilliam to help Wilberforce:

I cannot resist the impulse of writing to you in the strongest manner that all the friends of Government in Yorkshire may, as much as possible, be induced to vote for Wilberforce jointly with Fawkes. Independently of my own long friendship and sincere regard for him, I really think that his character is such as would render his rejection much to be lamented.⁵⁶

Grenville reminded Fitzwilliam that Lascelles had opposed government measures in the Commons whereas Wilberforce's conduct had been friendly. Unwillingly, and with warnings that Wilberforce must observe a strict neutrality toward Lascelles, Fitzwilliam let it be known to his friends that his real wish was to support Fawkes and Wilberforce.⁵⁷

Though popular sentiment against the slave trade, which was to be abolished within the year, may have hurt Lascelles, whose family wealth connected him with the West Indies, opposition from the Grenville ministry, the antagonism of the clothiers, the weakness of his political organization, his own lack of energy, and the ineptness of his canvass caused Lascelles' defeat. The constant refrain of letters to Lascelles from agents and friends during the campaign was that Fawkes's agents had already canvassed their district, that voters already had promised Fawkes, and that Lascelles and Wooley were not showing enough activity.⁵⁸ On November 1, five days before nomination day, Lascelles withdrew. Fawkes's canvass had brought favorable replies from over nine thousand freeholders.⁵⁹ Lascelles decided he had no chance of catching his rival.⁶⁰

Within six months came another general election. Fawkes dropped out

⁵⁵ Letterbook, Nov. 19, 1806, Wilberforce Wrangham MSS.

⁵⁶ Grenville to Fitzwilliam, Oct. 28, 1806, *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, VIII, 406.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 412; 1806 elections papers, Harewood MSS.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, E-213a. For a detailed study of this and the following election, see E. A. Smith, "The Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807: A Study in Electoral Management," *Northern History*, II (1967), 62-90.

⁶⁰ An examination of Yorkshire politics scarcely confirms the oft-quoted assertion by Namier (*Structure of Politics*, 73) that "probably not more than one in every twenty voters at county elections could freely exercise his statutory rights." Yorkshire candidates paid too much attention to individual voters and to the kind of appeals that would register with uneducated freeholders for a ratio of twenty to one to be near the mark.

when he found that Lascelles was ready to fight; Lord Milton, Earl Fitzwilliam's son, was hurriedly substituted; Lascelles, Milton, and Wilberforce then engaged in a contest that concluded with fifteen days of polling. The election of 1807 was contested in the full meaning of the term. Space permits only the identification of certain significant aspects of the organization of the election. Wilberforce did little formal preliminary canvassing, and his political organization was weak. As he noted in his diary, "There was among Lord Milton's friends, and in some degree among Mr. Lascelles's, a unity, discipline, and disposition to obey orders and act from common impulse which belong to a formed party. . . . We had nothing of this."⁶¹ His agents were again unpaid volunteers, and his local committees worked largely on their own. Yet he was returned at the top of the poll. Lascelles and Milton conducted a furious canvass in the three weeks before the opening of the poll. Neither was able to convince the other by his canvass. Neither had a clear lead. The closeness of the final total at the end of the poll when Milton beat Lascelles by only 188 votes, 11,177 to 10,989, helps to explain why a canvass did not settle the election of 1807.

Wilberforce did not need a professional organization to win. He needed money, and his friends formed committees in London and elsewhere that raised a subscription of £64,455.⁶² This was more than was required, although his committee was so intent on saving money that his majority over Lascelles amounted to only 817 votes. Had Wilberforce been defeated, it would have been by miscalculation because his committee spent only 44 per cent (£28,600) of his subscription.

Lascelles' defeat was as much due to the comparative weakness of his organization and campaigning as to any one factor. The clothiers were still hostile, but he might have surmounted that disadvantage if his committee and agents had shown the same initiative and energy as Milton's had exhibited.⁶³ Each spent about the same amount, nearly £100,000.⁶⁴ Recovering from the initial handicap of a late start, Milton's organization was professional in its efficiency, thoroughness, and attention to strategy. Their printing presses turned out a profusion of announcements, instructions, and special forms for agents and innkeepers and a constant stream of squibs,

⁶¹ Wilberforce and Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, III, 323.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 334.

⁶³ "This day fortnight, though I had the promises of at least 9 votes out of 10 throughout the whole County, I was scarcely more confident of my own success than of Mr. L[ascelles]'s but I now fear he will lose it. If he does it will be chiefly owing to the various faults, to call them by the slightest name, of his agents." (Wilberforce to Matthew Montagu, June 3, 1807, the thirteenth day of the poll, Wilberforce Collection, Wilberforce Museum, Hull.)

⁶⁴ Smith ("Yorkshire Elections of 1806 and 1807," 86) has calculated that the final account for Milton was slightly under £96,614, for Lascelles slightly over £93,600.

speeches, accusations, and broadsides. They considered every vote as possibly the winning one and exerted themselves, for example, in supplying vehicles with springs instead of wagons to entice freeholders for the long and rough ride to York. The Fitzwilliam Papers bear witness to the attention to detail of Milton's organization. They still carry a feeling of the excitement, the enthusiasm, and the increasing confidence of Milton's forces as the poll progressed.

In the seven county elections held between 1807 and the passage of the Reform Bill, the pattern of Yorkshire politics established in the previous years was continued with variations. The expense of a Yorkshire seat continued to be a deterrent to potential candidates: money was necessary for the canvass; if his early canvassing was encouraging, the candidate needed a large subscription or great personal wealth if he hoped to eliminate an opponent by the threat of a poll. In 1812 James Stuart-Wortley was discouraged by the resources of his opponents in a three-cornered struggle involving Milton and Lascelles. Wilberforce had accepted the offer from his friend Lord Calthorpe of the pocket borough of Bramber primarily because the physical strain of electioneering had become too great. Stuart-Wortley tried, but failed, to mount a sufficiently impressive canvass to drive off Lascelles, whose friends subscribed over fifty thousand pounds within a few hours after the nomination meeting.⁶⁵ The superior resources of Milton and Lascelles seemed certain to make them winners in a poll, and so Stuart-Wortley withdrew that same evening. Six years later personal considerations more than the renewed threat posed by Stuart-Wortley caused Lascelles to surrender Yorkshire for the family seat at Northallerton. Milton, a Whig, and Stuart-Wortley, a Tory, were quietly elected in 1818; nor did they face opposition in 1820 when the political scene was as calm as in 1790 and 1802. The two members toured the cloth halls together, and their enthusiastic reception by the clothiers had the desired effect of forestalling opposition.

Contested and uncontested elections continue after 1820 to be ambiguous terms that confuse the true nature of the political process. The most notable struggle in this period was the election of 1826, though it never went to a poll and thus is not listed as contested. For the first time Yorkshire chose four members, two seats having been transferred in 1821 from the disfranchised borough of Grampound. Several men were mentioned as possible candidates, but they hesitated when they realized that there would be an expensive struggle. The young Lord Morpeth, son of the Earl of Carlisle, whose record at Oxford made him a rising hope of the Whigs,

⁶⁵ *London Times*, Oct. 16, 1812.

was encouraged by the Fitzwilliams to stand with Lord Milton. He preferred to accompany his uncle, the Duke of Devonshire, to the coronation of Tsar Nicholas and be brought in for the safe borough of Morpeth. Fitzwilliam's Whig organization then broke precedent by accepting a self-made manufacturer, John Marshall of the prosperous flax-spinning firm that bore his name. Marshall's strength lay in his appeal to urban voters and in his willingness to spend money for a seat. The two Whig candidates conducted a well-organized joint canvass through the principal towns of the West Riding that assured their election.⁶⁶ Any loss of support by their favoring Roman Catholic Emancipation was counterbalanced by the popularity of their statements in favor of parliamentary reform and of lowering the duty on corn. Milton could have carried a less popular candidate than Marshall because, in addition to his standing with the nobility and gentry, he had formed, like Wilberforce before him, a political alliance with the clothiers, cutlers, and other craftsmen in the domestic trades.

On the Tory side Stuart-Wortley had succeeded to his father's title, leaving the way open for two candidates: Richard Fountayne Wilson, a former sheriff of Yorkshire, and William Duncombe, son of Charles Duncombe, who had been candidate for a county seat in 1796. They stood forth as representative country gentlemen, opposed to Catholic Emancipation and unwilling to give any pledges concerning revision of the corn laws. A fifth candidate turned the election into an expensive struggle as Richard Bethell, another member of the gentry, was nominated as an independent. He justified his candidacy on the ground that his friends believed the freeholders should have a choice, which suggests a decided change in outlook from the mid-eighteenth-century attitude that a candidate had to apologize for "disturbing the peace of the county." As a liberal Tory, Bethell was willing to consider the Roman Catholic claims and such revision of the corn laws as would bring "a temperate, steady, moderate price."⁶⁷ Despite the support of the two former representatives, Lascelles and Stuart-Wortley, now Lords Harewood and Wharnccliffe, Bethell was short of funds, and he tried harder to make a strong showing in the canvass in hope of frightening either Duncombe or Wilson out of the race. Canvassing was probably as thorough as in the elections of 1784 and 1806. As in 1784 a recourse to the polls was expected. Bethell withdrew so late that his opponents already were forwarding voters to York to poll. A shortage of money in Bethell's organization rather than his position in the canvass caused him to

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, June 9, 10, 1826.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1826.

back down.⁶⁸ This uncontested election was expensive, costing Milton and Marshall each £26,000. A recent estimate places the total cost of the election at £150,000, which seems high.⁶⁹ Clearly, however, the expense of canvassing a Yorkshire seat had increased since 1784 when the Yorkshire Association had brought Henry Duncombe and Wilberforce in for four thousand pounds. Money could not buy a Yorkshire seat, but even a well-established and popular member needed to have large amounts of funds available. After 1826 responsible candidates would not permit their names to be put in nomination unless their friends promised them an expense-free contest.

By comparison with 1826 the contested election of 1830 was a farce. Whigs and Tories were content to share the representation as in the preceding Parliament, the Tories nominating Duncombe and Bethell and the Whigs nominating Lord Morpeth and Henry Brougham. Brougham's nomination caused a flurry because he had no connection with Yorkshire; nor was he popular with the landed proprietors who were accustomed to managing the Whig interest in the county. His acceptance reflected a compromise between the two wings of Yorkshire Whigs—the landed class on the one side and the middle class of the industrial towns on the other. The canvass was discreetly carried forward at no expense to the nominees.⁷⁰ A fifth candidate, the eccentric Martin Stapylton, standing on a platform of purity in elections, insisted on a poll. While he refused to pay the expenses of freeholders, he promised to keep the polls open for any who wanted to vote. At the end of the first day he had polled less than one-tenth of the vote of the next lowest candidate. Stapylton's opponents urged their friends to stay away from the booths, and on the afternoon of the second day the sheriff declared the election ended.⁷¹ Such abbreviated polling was more usual than one might suppose and further confuses the meaning of contested elections. Incomplete records of county elections after 1811 show that contested elections lasting one day and polling a small fraction of the voters took place in Leicestershire and Sussex in 1818, Cumberland in 1820, and Suffolk in 1830 before candidates on the basis of this further evidence beyond a canvass dropped out in acknowledgment of their defeat.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, June 9, 23, 1826.

⁶⁹ Norman Gash, "Brougham and the Yorkshire Election of 1830," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, VIII (Pt. 1, 1956), 20.

⁷⁰ Edward Baines, *The Life of Edward Baines, late M. P. for the Borough of Leeds* (London, 1851), 151.

⁷¹ Gash, "Brougham and the Yorkshire Election of 1830," 30. When Brougham was elevated to the House of Lords, Sir John V. B. Johnstone was elected unopposed in December.

⁷² *An Account of the number of Freeholders who have Exercised the Right of Voting in the several Counties . . . since 1811, Parliamentary Papers*, 1831, XVI, 177; Thomas Horsfield, *History and Antiquities of the County of Sussex* (2 vols., London, 1835), II, Appendix, 25.

The absence of polling in the Yorkshire election of 1831 at the height of the struggle over the Reform Bill was no indication of the lack of political feeling, but rather signified that the antireformers realized their weakness. Four "liberal" candidates were nominated, and the newspapers reported that money was being subscribed "with uncommon spirit and liberality; . . . canvassing is every where going forward."⁷³ The Tories vainly searched for candidates, and up to two days before the election it was expected that at least Duncombe would stand, but his friends finally decided "that it was not advisable or expedient."⁷⁴ The result in Yorkshire was correctly judged a great victory for parliamentary reform. It was a greater victory than if opposition candidates had been defeated in a poll because the Tories' failure to contest the election showed the hopelessness of their cause.

Throughout this period the important requisite for a successful candidate in Yorkshire was an adequate political organization. That organization might be semiprofessional as in the Duncombe-Wilberforce campaign of 1784 or the Fitzwilliam campaigns in 1806 and 1807. It could be a more amateur organization, picked up among loyal friends, if the candidate was a popular incumbent and a good campaigner, as was Wilberforce from 1790 onward. A candidate might realize a tremendous advantage if his political machine could start a canvass quickly. A newcomer without special strengths and without a solid organization had no chance.

Public opinion was a real factor in Yorkshire elections, though again credit often is due an electoral organization that could successfully mold and exploit that opinion. An M. P. who antagonized a large section of the voters on a local or national issue, as did Foljambe in 1784, Henry Duncombe in 1796, Henry Lascelles in 1806, and William Duncombe in 1831, could recognize that he was defeated before polling day. When no issues strongly divided freeholders, other factors such as the character and personality of the candidate, his ability to sway a crowd and to project an image, or his financial strength could be decisive.

In the arsenal of every successful candidate was money. Large sums often were not needed, but a serious candidate had to have personal funds or wealthy friends available. If opposition required a candidate to engage in a thorough canvass, that in itself was expensive, and as the years passed became more expensive. The most important contribution of money, how-

⁷³ London *Times*, Apr. 28, 1831, abridged from the Leeds *Mercury*.

⁷⁴ London *Times*, May 8, 1831. Subscriptions were pledged to Duncombe, Lascelles, and John Stuart-Wortley, but the last two declined before May 2. Lord Morpeth, Sir John V. B. Johnstone, John Charles Ramsden, and George Strickland were elected.

ever, was to make credible the threat to carry an election to a poll. Only candidates with money behind them could engage in the game of bluff that accompanied rival canvasses and usually ended with one side withdrawing. Even candidates with money, if their canvass showed their supporters in a minority, would normally withdraw, as in 1780, 1784, and 1806. Since candidates who represented the popular side of an issue could expect to find the money necessary to fight, money alone could rarely, if ever, thwart strong majority opinion. When fairly equal candidates contended against each other in quiet elections, however, the candidates with the larger purse would force their rivals to withdraw.

In the twenty-five Yorkshire elections during the century before the Reform Bill there were twelve in which an active contest for votes took place.⁷⁵ Yet only three of these twelve elections were contested in the technical meaning of the term: a poll of the freeholders. The elections of 1734, 1741, and 1807 were carried to the polls because the canvass had not made clear the relative ability of the candidates to win votes. To refer to an election as uncontested often hides the fact that an appeal to the voters during the canvassing actually had decided a sharp contest. The small number of contested elections in Yorkshire is no evidence of the county's lack of interest in electoral matters; nor is the conclusion warranted that voters were prevented from indicating their opinions on the candidates and the issues of the day merely because the freeholders never were formally polled.

⁷⁵ They were 1734, 1741 (by-election), 1754, 1761, 1780, 1784, 1796, 1806, 1807, 1812, 1826, 1831. I consider the election of 1830 to be uncontested although Stapylton forced a brief poll.

Economic History, Old and New

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

IN 1957, at the annual meeting of the Economic History Association devoted to discussion of "The Integration of Economic Theory and Economic History," two economists from Harvard University, John R. Meyer and Alfred H. Conrad, presented a paper that is often regarded as the initial exposition of a new methodology. "We shall assert," they said, "that economics as a science deals with historical processes and is dependent upon historical research. In any position other than the extreme of antiquarianism, therefore, the tools of economic analysis must have some function in the handling of the historical material that deals with economic processes."¹ Since economic analysis, almost inevitably, requires measurable variables, the statement by Meyer and Conrad implied a new emphasis on quantification.

Application of highly developed economic theory to the quantitative record of history opened exciting intellectual vistas to some young economists. Imbued with the spirit of pioneers, they called themselves the "new economic historians" or "Cliometricians." Attending meetings of the recently created International Economic History Association, these young Americans spread their doctrines to the rest of the world. Although the net effect on the foreigners, aside from those of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, seemed small, the Cliometricians were the most challenging force on both the international and domestic fronts, and the movement came to affect general as well as economic historians.

Neither quantification nor theory is strange to American economic historians, but the new method, in the words of William Parker, "requires figures, as the Minotaur required maidens, it requires them exactly and on time."² It was not accidental that this demanding use of statistics should

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¹ John R. Meyer and Alfred H. Conrad, "Economic Theory, Statistical Inference and Economic History," *Journal of Economic History*, XVII (Dec. 1957), 524.

² Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, National Bureau of Economic Research, *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N. J., 1962), 8.

develop in the United States: the collection of quantitative data has been a strong and continuous trend in American economic historiography. But while theory had not been shunned by earlier generations of economic historians, it had never been embraced with warmth and determination.

The oldest and the traditional form of economic history in the United States, as in other nations, was narration buttressed by occasional measurements. From the European inception of specialized economic history in the late nineteenth century, however, both Gustav Schmoller in Germany and Sir John Clapham in England sought to develop it without reliance on standard economic theory. Clapham held that the central problems of economic theory, although they may be stated in terms of a particular historical phase, are in essence independent of history. With few exceptions this general view permeated the writing of economic history in the United States until World War II. While quantitative data were collected they were seldom manipulated or used to test mathematical propositions, and macrocosmic, long-term models of the economy were practically unknown.

German-trained American economists, who in their rebellion against English classicism called themselves "institutionalists," reinforced this empirical, positivistic trend. Shortly after its founding in 1902, the Carnegie Institution of Washington commissioned a series of monographs in economic history that exemplified the trend of this period. Works such as Emory R. Johnson's *History of Foreign and Domestic Commerce* (1915), Victor S. Clark's *History of Manufactures*, Volume I (1916), and Lewis C. Gray's *History of Agriculture* (1933) were large, useful volumes, full of factual detail and statistics, but generally devoid of theoretical interpretation.³

At the leading universities, meanwhile, scholars were being trained by men such as Edwin F. Gay at Harvard University to pursue economic history as a scholarly discipline. Serving in the government during World War I, Gay became strongly convinced of the need for better economic statistics on which to base decisions. At the end of the conflict he joined with Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University and a number of others in establishing the National Bureau of Economic Research to stimulate the collection and interpretation of historical statistics.

Like so many rebellions, that of the institutionalists of the National Bureau against deductive, neoclassic economic theory went to extremes and in many instances resulted in antitheoretical attitudes that prevented development of new hypotheses. In the minds of many empiricists, includ-

³ For a more detailed account of the origins of American economic history, see Arthur H. Cole, "Economic History in the United States: Formative Years of a Discipline," *Journal of Economic History*, XXVIII (Dec. 1968), 556-89.

ing Mitchell and other founders of the bureau, there was an assumption that factually based theory would emerge from the data when it became sufficiently complete, but, except for limited propositions, it never did. As Thomas Kuhn has emphasized, that is not, in general, the way science develops.⁴

The National Bureau has, however, brilliantly fulfilled its role as a fact-gathering agency. Its more than two hundred substantial monographs and a still greater number of reports, bulletins, and occasional papers form, by far, the largest part of the scientifically collected and prepared quantitative record of American economic history. The Universities-National Bureau Committee has, in addition, explored qualitative aspects of history such as entrepreneurship, education, and government policy. While the United States census supplies raw materials, the National Bureau creates rationalized time series with appropriate explanations. The leaders of its research staff, scholars such as Arthur Burns, Solomon Fabricant, Simon Kuznets, and the late Wesley Mitchell might, therefore, be regarded as America's leading economic historians. Kuznets, in addition to his work at the bureau, has engineered the collection of various time series for nations all over the world. Since 1953, members of the staff have, on occasion, also been influential members of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; hence, if they are in truth economic historians, the discipline has played a considerable role in guiding public affairs.

But these scholars, while won over to the postwar interest in economic development, have not regarded themselves as essentially economic historians. Few of them have either taught economic history or written general or synthetic books in that field. With one or two exceptions, they have taken no part in the institutional structure of the profession of economic history. One reason behind this division in what we like to think of as a discipline is that it has no home of its own in American universities. There are, as far as I know, no autonomous departments of economic history. Even though there may be committees for granting the Ph.D. in this field, the professorships of the members are in history, economics, or occasionally sociology, geography, or politics. Thus, scholars interested, for example, in the changing patterns of national income will regard themselves first as economists and only secondarily, if at all, as economic historians. To be an economic historian in the United States is to be somewhat out of the mainstreams of the major disciplines.

Within the field conventionally regarded as economic history there are

⁴ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

three subdisciplines: agricultural history, labor history, and business history. Agricultural history, which in so many nations is the backbone of economic history, is in America a subdiscipline whose practitioners are chiefly attached to departments of economics or history, or to the government. Since 1926 these scholars have had their own quarterly journal, and while a number of them have been active in the Economic History Association, many others have not.⁵

The history of American labor, systematically begun by John R. Commons and other institutional economists around the turn of the century, has tended to be sociological rather than strictly economic in its major emphases. Trade-union growth, structure, and action have been studied in detail, while supply, price, quality, and market imperfections have received scant attention. Since World War II university departments of economics and industrial relations have brought economic theory to bear on current labor problems, and a few members of these departments or institutes have turned to study of the past.⁶ Historical output in this field during the 1960's was only a score of volumes, but there has been sufficient enthusiasm during these same years to support a journal, *Labor History*.⁷

While the history of business has isolated early precedents, such as James T. Hudson's *The Railways and the Republic* (1886) or John P. Davis' *Corporations* (1897)—books usually critical of business practice—the beginning of business history as a recognized discipline came with the creation of the Straus Professorship at the Harvard Business School in 1927. The first professor, N. S. B. Gras, defined the field as the study of the administration of the firm, promoted a number of company histories, and, in cooperation with Gay, began a quarterly journal, which after some interruptions and changes in title is now the *Business History Review*.⁸ By the 1940's the writing of company histories spread to a few other large universities, and the number of such scholarly volumes, as distinct from those emanating from corporate public relations departments, has risen to fifty or more.

⁵ See *Agricultural History*, I-LII (Jan. 1927–date).

⁶ See, e.g., *Aspects of Labor Economics: A Conference of the Universities-National Bureau Committee for Economic Research* (Princeton, N. J., 1962); Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920–1933* (Boston, 1960); George Bancroft, *The American Labor Force: Its Growth and Changing Composition* (New York, 1958); Richard A. Lester, *Economics of Labor* (2d ed., New York, 1964); Harry A. Millis and Royal E. Montgomery, *Economics of Labor* (3 vols., New York, 1938–45); Lloyd G. Reynolds, *Labor Economics and Labor Relations* (4th ed., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1959); George A. Taylor, *Managerial and Engineering Economy: Economic Decision Making* (Princeton, N. J., 1964); and Stanley Lebergott, *Manpower in Economic Growth: The American Record since 1800* (New York, 1964).

⁷ *Labor History*, I-X (Winter 1960–date).

⁸ *Journal of Economic and Business History*, I-IV (1928–32); also *Bulletin of the Business History Society*, I-XXVII (1926–1953); *Business History Review*, XVIII-LIII (1954–date).

Following World War II, another group of scholars at Harvard University, led by Arthur H. Cole, pursued their studies of business beyond the individual firm to include the relations of proprietors and managers with all aspects of society. Emphasizing the socioeconomic function of businessmen, this group started a Research Center for Entrepreneurial History in 1948 and a journal, *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*. From the group at Harvard, and scholars elsewhere, have come a number of synthetic studies of the influence of the business system as an institutional entity on economic, social, and political functions.⁹

Economists' interests in development and in the functioning of geographical regions have been reflected in economic history. Since 1952 a journal, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, has been published at the University of Chicago; it carries a wide variety of articles dealing with the economic history of American and foreign underdeveloped areas.¹⁰ In the 1960's the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation has financed meetings of scholars interested in regional economic history. This group has ties with the new field of regional science, as well as with geography and urban history. Their main attention has been focused on the Middle Atlantic region.¹¹

In all of this academic work, statistical or institutional, agricultural or urban-industrial, the outsider cannot help but be impressed by the lack of manifest ideology. Neither the Turnerian assumptions of the unique virtues derived from the frontier, the Beardian economic interpretation of politics, nor the Marxian dynamics of class conflict appear openly in more than a minute percentage of scholarly books. The American ideal is an empirically based objectivity, which in practice means accepting existing institutions as the framework for analysis. Writing that openly argues for a new ideology or shows a missionary bias in favor of radical change in major institutions is regarded as unscholarly and unreliable. This may explain why the battles in American scholarship are so often over methods.

Such considerations bring us back to the Cliometricians. The Keynesian theories of macroeconomic relationships gave, for the first time, a generally acceptable scheme for arranging the various factors in national economic

⁹ *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, Nos. I-II (1948-58); 2d Ser., I-VI (Fall 1963-date). For a general survey of the work of the Harvard center and the publications of those associated with it, see *Explorations in Enterprise*, ed. Hugh G. J. Aitken (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

¹⁰ R. Richard Wohl, who with Aitken initially edited *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, moved to the University of Chicago after completing his doctorate at Harvard University and edited, until his death in 1958, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, I-XVII (Mar. 1952-date), a journal established by Bert F. Hoselitz.

¹¹ See *The Growth of Seaport Cities, 1790-1825*, ed. David T. Gilchrist (Charlottesville, Va., 1967).

growth; hence the Cliometricians had a body of essentially new theory to try out on the old data. But since post-Keynesian economics takes off from rather than repudiates older theory, the young theorists have readily joined in the continuing statistical work of the National Bureau of Economic Research. The recent study *Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century* is an excellent example of such cooperation.¹²

The division between the new theory and the older empiricism is, in fact, less fundamental than is often assumed by those repelled by pages of functions, equations and graphs. The question is, rather: what kind of theory do you prefer? Or better still: what kind of theory is most useful for the data involved? Philosophically inclined historians recognize that the simplest narrative is made up of generalizations, based on more or less implicit assumptions. A historical "fact" has meaning only in some selected context. Historians, economic or otherwise, have necessarily approached their work with at least implicit models to guide them, and all history is a tissue of presuppositions and resulting conclusions. When the facts obviously fail to support his premises, the historian either modifies his views or looks for new evidence. There is, to be sure, a residual type of historical material that, because of the number and uncertainty of the variables involved, continually falls outside hypothetical schemes. Such material can be communicated only "experientially and diffusely" or organized by what a leading anthropologist called "descriptive integration."¹³ New economic historians try in their research to minimize such material, but they are on sound philosophical ground in asking that, in so far as possible, premises, models, or assumptions be made explicit. As Alfred Marshall said, "The most reckless and treacherous of all theorists is he who professes to let facts and figures speak for themselves."¹⁴

Viewed this way, the difference between old and new economic historians is, in part, a controversy over types of models: the old say that realistic models usually have to be too highly generalized or too complex to

¹² See note 2, above; and a similar study by the Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, National Bureau of Economic Research, *Employment and Productivity in the United States since 1800* (New York, 1966).

¹³ J. H. Hexter, "Historiography: The Rhetoric of History," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (17 vols., New York, 1968), VI, 372; Robert Redfield, "Relations of Anthropology to the Social Sciences and Humanities," in *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), 730. For the new economic historians, see Robert W. Fogel, "The Reunification of Economic History and Economy Theory," *American Economic Review*, LV (May 1965), 92-98, and "The New Economic History," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XIX (Dec. 1966), 642-56. For the contrasting views of an older economic historian, see Fritz Redlich, "'New' and Traditional Approaches to Economic History and Their Interdependence," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (Dec. 1965), 480-95.

¹⁴ Alfred Marshall, "The Present Position of Economics (1885)," in *Memorials of Alfred Marshall*, ed. A. C. Pigou (London, 1925), 168.

allow the assumption of mathematical relationships; the new are primarily interested in applying operative models to economic data. The limitations of the latter methods come from the unrealistically small number of measurable variables, from the fact that users of statistical models have to go where the numbers are, not where the worries and concerns of the present age call them, and from some of the underlying assumptions of economics, particularly those of rationality or consistency of decisions, and of the ability to substitute factors at the margin.

Each culture has its own forms of economic irrationality or inconsistency. In some, it is excessive responsibility for the entrepreneur's family; in others, such as in the United States, one form may have been persistent overoptimism; in many others, there has been strong and realistic fear of adverse political change. An actual market, therefore, is a complex made up of the mental images and resulting calculations of those participating in it. Economic or "market-oriented" decisions depend not on an automatic reaction but on the entrepreneur's interpretation of market forces and trends. Guided by inaccurate views, or local difficulties, average or modal entrepreneurs appear in historic situations to have allocated inputs by decisions based on factors other than marginal cost. Models depending on rational or consistent economic decisions will, therefore, always fail to fit the real situation to some degree. Yet the attempts of the new economic historians to fit simple models to past reality are valuable because they illuminate the nature of irrationalities or inconsistencies and in doing so call attention to the need for new types of research.

Macroeconomic theories have given new relevance to the study of such underlying processes as foreign trade, increases in productivity, demographic changes, growth cycles, capital formation, and distribution of income.¹⁵ While partly mathematical propositions tend to emphasize quantifiable processes more than institutional settings, the older type of history often fails to integrate quantitative measurement of processes with qualitative institutional change. The new approach is, of course, in danger of the reverse weakness: failure to explore the modifications made in quantitative series by institutional pressures. The early export of staples, for example,

¹⁵ Among books, see Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1961); Jeffrey G. Williamson, *American Growth and the Balance of Payments, 1820-1913* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1964); Dorothy S. Brady, *Age and Income Distribution* (Washington, D. C., 1965); Richard A. Easterlin, *Population, Labor Force, and Long Swings in Economic Growth* (Princeton, N. J., 1968); Albert Fishlow, *American Railroads and the Transformation of the Ante-Bellum Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); National Bureau of Economic Research, *Capital Formation and Economic Growth* (Princeton, N. J., 1955); and Lance E. Davis *et al.*, *American Economic History: The Development of a National Economy* (rev. ed., New York, 1961); see also notes 2, 12, above.

produced a different effect in contact with Latin American institutions than with those of the United States, and surplus capital flowed differently in Boston than in Philadelphia.¹⁶

There has been some argument between new and old economic historians over the use by the former of explicit counterfactual propositions, but here the issues seem more a matter of words than of methods. Every historical statement regarding the effect of a change must be implicitly measured against an assumed counterfactual continuity. Generalizations made on the basis of comparison with a counterfactual situation depend initially upon the stability of the assumed relationships and therefore tend to weaken as the time period covered becomes longer. Counterfactual assumptions covering a short period are useful and necessary; those covering long periods, such as many decades, necessarily become increasingly abstract and artificial.¹⁷

Greater completeness in mathematical models has been enormously aided by the rapid spread in the use of the computer in the United States. Now the only limit to the number of operative variables is the ingenuity of the scholar in relating them to each other, perhaps not correctly, but at least within the range of real possibility. At present practically every major American university can supply computer time to both faculty and graduate students; models and quantification are, therefore, expanding rapidly. The so-called Wharton School model of the operation of the American economy, for example, has nearly sixty major variables and some three hundred minor ones. The model can be applied to any period of history for which data on a meaningful number of variables are available. Since graduate students are anxious to work with new devices such as the computer, there are many quantitative studies under way.

So far the work of this growing number of students has appeared chiefly in articles, particularly in the *Journal of Economic History* and *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*. In addition to publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, only about a dozen volumes that may be said to represent use of the new methods have appeared in book form. But more are in preparation, and a large percentage of the current doctoral dissertations in economic history bring together measurement and theory.¹⁸ This work and that of several older scholars have led to some

¹⁶ See Thomas C. Cochran and Reuben E. Reina, *Entrepreneurship in Argentine Culture: Torcuato Di Tella and S. I. A. M.* (Philadelphia, 1962); and Arthur M. Johnson and Barry E. Supple, *Boston Capitalists and Western Railroads: A Study in the Nineteenth-Century Railroad Investment Process* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

¹⁷ An able tour de force in counterfactuality is Robert W. Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964).

¹⁸ See note 15, above.

illuminating controversies regarding American economic development in the nineteenth century. Movements in national income, the substitution of capital for labor, the role of export staples in industrialization, railroads as an economic force, the profitability of Negro slavery to the South, and the effects of the Civil War on economic growth have all been re-examined.¹⁹ The net result has been again to focus the attention of many economic historians upon the early and mid-nineteenth century rather than upon the more immediate background of present events.

This, of course, is pushing the discipline in the direction of history, but the requirements of theory are working far more strongly in an opposite direction. Young historians are repelled by the seemingly formidable equations of the theorists, and economic historians are being recruited increasingly from departments of economics. A *Handbook of the Economic History Association*, issued in 1967, shows that of the members who listed themselves as "economic historians" those with economic disciplinary backgrounds outnumbered those from history by two to one, while members listing themselves simply as "economists" were nearly twice as numerous as those calling themselves "historians." Many of the younger historical scholars who in fact study and write economic history feel they have little in common with the Cliometricians and do not belong to the Economic History Association.

A corrective for this unfortunate trend lies not in moving back toward descriptive narration, but rather in broadening the scope and variety of theory. Economic theory explains why and how rational material motives lead to productive responses, but only by inference why one complex enterprise succeeds and its neighbor fails under approximately the same circumstances. Why, for example, did John D. Rockefeller's refinery outdistance his once equal competitors in the Cleveland oil business? Yet the historian is interested as much in the actual results as in economic incentives; to bring order into this analysis of the total situation it is necessary for him to use theoretical models and knowledge from the behavioral sciences.

¹⁹ Paul H. Cootner, "The Role of Railroads in United States Economic Growth," *Journal of Economic History*, XXIII (Dec. 1963), 477-521; George Rogers Taylor, "American Economic Growth before 1840: An Explanatory Essay," *ibid.*, XXIV (Dec. 1964), 427-44; Paul A. David, "The Growth of Real Product in the United States before 1840: New Evidence, Controlled Conjectures," *ibid.*, XVIII (June 1962), 151-97; Peter D. McClelland, "Railroads, Growth, and the New Economic History," *ibid.*, XXVIII (Mar. 1968), 102-23; Peter Temin, "Labor Scarcity and the Problem of American Industrial Efficiency in the 1850's," *ibid.*, XXVI (Sept. 1966), 277-98; Robert W. Fogel, "The Specification Problem in Economic History," *ibid.*, XXVII (Sept. 1967), 283-308; and the articles by Thomas C. Cochran, Stephen Salisbury, and Stanley Engerman in *The Economic Impact of the American Civil War*, ed. Ralph Andreado (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 167-209. The Civil War argument is carried further in

Pursuing such interests, some American economic historians have reached a clearer formulation of social institutions and the norms of human behavior. Stimulated by theories and ideas stemming chiefly from anthropology, sociology, and social psychology, scholars have devoted their attention to such matters as social roles and modal personality types in economic decision making, to the economic implications of various kinds of business and social structures, and to the interaction of various social institutions.²⁰

The study of economic development in widely differing cultures has provided a testing ground for much of the new social theory. The practical experience that feeding capital into a national economy does not necessarily produce the anticipated results has emphasized the problems connected with levels and types of learning, the social roles of entrepreneurs, and the attitudes of social elites. Such experience has been so persistent that some economists have concluded that the chief problems of economic development are noneconomic and that economic action is largely conditioned by the learning of the entrepreneurial actors and the social structures in which they operate.²¹ Men will usually not perceive opportunities that lie outside the normal scope of their imaginations, or what the anthropologists would call their ranges of subjective construction. In other words, economic analysis will not, in itself, necessarily explain change. This broader view has not only brought economic history closer to anthropology and sociology; it has also raised the question: can there be a segregated school of "economic" history?

Surely all economic historians will agree that the discipline must be open ended. Economic studies obviously involve business institutions, which, in turn, include the study of modal types of entrepreneurship, which, in turn, depend on cultural values, education, political expectations, and general social conditioning. At that point we are in the field conventionally called social history, without ever having crossed an obtrusive boundary. That there is none in reality is suggested by the fact that the National Bureau is sponsoring the study of expenditures for education.²²

Economic Change in the Civil War Era, ed. David T. Gilchrist and W. David Lewis (Green-ville, Del., 1965).

²⁰ See Research Center for Entrepreneurial History, *Change and the Entrepreneur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949); Thomas C. Cochran, *The Inner Revolution: Essays in the Social Sciences and History* (New York, 1965); Arthur H. Cole, *Business Enterprise in Its Social Setting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).

²¹ See Albert O. Hirschman, *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven, Conn., 1958); H. G. Barnett, *Innovation the Basis of Cultural Change* (New York, 1953); and note 20, above.

²² Albert Fishlow, "Levels of Nineteenth-Century American Investment in Education," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (Dec. 1966), 418-36.

Yet in proceeding from one type of theory to the other there is a difference in method that should not be ignored: the models desired by the new economic historians are ideally quantitative and mathematical, while those used by what I will call, for convenience, the "sociological economic historians" are generally verbal and modal, involving estimates of greater or lesser magnitude, normality or abnormality. They involve tendencies that, at best, can only be put into orders of rank and usually involve so many variables that no one or two can serve as reliable indexes. Mergers of separate enterprises into units of a size that would be more profitable have, for example, been held back in many nations by a strong desire to preserve autonomous family firms, but this is a variable that can only be ranked on the basis of judgment, as being more influential in one economy than in another. Or, again, consider trying to quantify Evon Z. Vogts's statement that the importance of value orientation is proportional to the amount of economic and technological control a society has achieved.²³

The boundary between what we may call economic and social propositions is, however, not hard and fast. Ambitious Cliometricians and mathematicians interested in history feel confident that they can extend operational equations or models into what is regarded at present as purely verbal territory. Success may come in two different ways: by using new mathematical systems that can do more with ordinal variables; and by extending quantification to data now regarded as qualitative. For an overly simple example of the latter, suppose that instead of a sustained upswing in industrial development depending for its genesis on a certain level of capital formation, we hypothesize that it depends on a level of entrepreneurial education. It is not beyond the realm of probability that a hypothesis could be sustained that on the average the equivalent of twelve years of schooling in a particular educational system was necessary for successful entrepreneurial adoption of certain industrial technology, that ten to twelve years of schooling formed a doubtful zone, and that with less than ten years the chances for success were small. A leading sociologist has devised, more realistically, a long questionnaire which, when administered to thousands of people in a dozen Latin American countries, established a numerical scale of modernity as against traditionalism in attitudes and values. But, for history, which must always be limited by its sources, such methods are difficult to apply.

In dealing with economic forces in a broad social setting some of the best history has been written by lawyers and general historians. Within the

²³ Evon Z. Vogts, "On the Concepts of Structure and Process in Cultural Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, LXII (Feb. 1960), 266.

last decade there have been important studies of law and economic growth in particular states, of the competition of opposing economic interests in both state and national politics, of the history of organizations with economic aims, of the economic basis of American foreign relations, along with numerous biographies of entrepreneurs and the political architects of economic policies.²⁴ These studies not only account for most of the books reviewed in the *Journal of Economic History* and a large percentage of the articles, but also appear in many journals such as the *American Quarterly*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, and other periodicals devoted to general history. Studies that one may say approach economic history from other disciplines show the many ways in which the expression of a possibly uniform economic motivation is modified by the local or national culture acting through social values or beliefs, political behavior, and the attitudes and traditions of bar and bench.

Although both the quantity of work and the number of scholars in American economic history, broadly defined, are increasing every year, it is still a small discipline compared to American political or social history. Yet, the fact that it is the area most involved with theory gives it an importance beyond the number of practitioners. It seems probable that new methods and understandings may come more quickly here than in the larger traditional areas more devoted to literary narration; these developments may place economic historians in the forefront of a new social history.

²⁴It is obviously impossible even to exemplify all these books in a footnote, but a few samples are James W. Hurst, *Law and Economic Growth: The Legal History of the Lumber Industry in Wisconsin, 1836-1915* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Robert H. Wiebe, *Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (Chicago, 1957); Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (New York, 1963); Alan R. Raucher, *Public Relations and Business, 1900-1929* (Baltimore, 1963); Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865-1901* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956); William A. Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1959); Charles B. Dew, *Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works* (New Haven, Conn., 1966); Stuart Bruchey, *Roots of American Economic Growth* (New York, 1965); Carter Goodrich, *Government Promotion of Canals and Railroads, 1800-1890* (New York, 1960); and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. In seventeen volumes. *David L. Sills*, Editor. ([New York:] Macmillan Company and Free Press. 1968. Pp. xxx, 522; 567; 568; 545; 562; 550; 560; 584; 585; 582; 614; 638; 616; 586; 622; 602; 447.)

In a play by Noel Coward a man trying to make conversation asks "How is China," and the lady answers "very big." A reviewer of an encyclopedia would be well advised to seek refuge in the same phrase, but the conventions of the craft suggest, in addition, some comparisons with the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* published by the Macmillan Company in 1930 and some discussion of the utility of the new volumes to historians. While a thorough reader of the introductory material of the present set may note my name on the editorial advisory board, in neither this nor the earlier edition did the advisory group share in any final decision making. To exclude this group would seriously limit the number of available reviewers with a background knowledge of the situation. In any case, a truly evaluative review of this work could only be written by someone further separated by either space, time, or both than is any present-day American.

The new volumes have a considerable history. In 1950 Alvin Johnson, associate editor of the earlier work, Bernard Berelson of the Ford Foundation, and Jeremiah Kaplan, owner of the Free Press of Glencoe, started the movement for a new edition. At this point, Johnson thought that about one-third of the existing articles could remain unchanged, and another third could be revised. Five years of discussion and study of the issue by leading social scientists, aided by Ford Foundation grants, ensued. In 1955 the Social Science Research Council sponsored a series of meetings at the leading universities on the need for a new encyclopedia. The opponents of action were generally divided between those who thought that too few valid and basic changes in theory and method had taken place since 1930 and those who thought that change was so rapid that an encyclopedia would soon be outdated! While the majority favored the project, no institution came forward with the necessary funds.

Five years later, the merger of Kaplan's Free Press with the Crowell Collier Publishing Company revived the project as a commercial venture. Having also acquired the company that published the earlier volumes, President Raymond C. Hagel of Crowell Collier and Macmillan decided to invest two million dollars in a new encyclopedia that was to be published under the joint imprint of the Macmillan Company and the Free Press.

W. Allen Wallis of the University of Rochester was appointed chairman of the editorial advisory board, and he and a small group, including Kaplan, chose the editor. Initially they selected Bert E. Hoselitz, a broadly interdisciplinary

scholar in the Social Science Division of the University of Chicago, who had been working actively for a new encyclopedia since 1951, but when detailed problems of editing and production led the publisher to move the work from Chicago to New York, Hoselitz resigned and became a special editor for economic development. He was succeeded by the Columbia sociologist David L. Sills, who, with the advice of the men already mentioned, chose the other editors.

The editorial structure consisted of associate editors representing anthropology, economics, political science, psychology, social thought, and sociology; special editors for applied psychology, biographies, econometrics, economic development, and experimental psychology; and an editorial staff whose members represented most of these disciplines. An international editorial advisory board of some 175 members were consulted during the planning stages of the work.

These arrangements differed substantially from the sponsoring and editorial structure of the earlier encyclopedia and, to some extent, indicate the greater confidence of social scientists and publishers in the importance of these disciplines. The 1930 edition was supported by the Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Russell Sage Foundations, as well as by Macmillan, and it was sponsored by ten "Constituent Societies," including the American Historical Association. E. R. A. Seligman, an economist at Columbia, and Alvin Johnson, an economist and director of the New School for Social Research, selected young Max Lerner, then at the Brookings Institution, first as assistant and then as managing editor. Seven assistant editors from unspecified disciplines completed the masthead. The advisory editors numbered only twenty-eight and were divided into two groups, American and foreign, and then subdivided by disciplines. In the American group, Sidney B. Fay and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., represented history. Thus, while in neither project was history represented as a discipline on the list of working editors, in the earlier one two historians were included in the small advisory groups, and there were two official representatives of history among those from the sponsoring associations. The effect of a relatively small participation by historians in the design of the present work is not easy to judge. Some scholars to whom professional historians regularly turn are not present as contributors, but I am not prepared to say that the articles written by less well-known men are inferior to what might have been anticipated.

The editors, who started work in 1961, decided on a wholly new encyclopedia. All of the old articles were abandoned, and, of some fifteen hundred contributors to the present volumes only sixty were represented in the earlier work. Consequently, despite replication in name and publisher, the use of the term "new edition" does not imply substantial continuity. In spite of quite diverse content, however, the two editions are nearly similar in size. The old one had fifteen volumes as compared with seventeen for the new, but smaller type and about an equal number of pages (ten thousand) make the older work slightly longer. The better paper and larger type of the newer version make it easier, in fact pleasant, to read.

The most striking change in content is the elimination of more than 90 per cent of the former biographies, a drop from four thousand to three hundred, and the inclusion of about three hundred new biographies, chiefly of foreign schol-

ars. This wholesale replacement of biography with articles on the ramifying interests of the other social sciences necessarily makes the new edition less historical in substantive content than the old. Relatively few biographies of historians remain: of those who did their work in the United States one finds only Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles A. Beard, James Harvey Robinson, George Sarton, and Frederick Jackson Turner. The name of one more American, Abbott P. Usher, appears on a list of twenty economic historians. Professional historians would probably prefer a longer and rather different list. The fifty biographies of both economic and general historians of all nations is considerably less than the number in anthropology, economics, political science, or sociology. While this may limit use of the volumes by historical scholars, from the standpoint of their direct contribution to the social sciences a sparse representation of historians is justified.

In the earlier edition, Volume I began with a 350-page history of the social sciences from Greek times, including their development in each major Western nation. There is no attempt at such history in the new volumes except for some brief summaries under the general disciplinary headings. This calls attention to the fact that with one or two exceptions active scholars in the social sciences have not been interested in attempting recent interpretive histories of their disciplines.

The section of Volume VI devoted to historiography and various types of history covers fifty-two pages as compared with only thirty-two in the earlier edition. An article by J. H. Hexter, "Historiography: The Rhetoric of History," which takes nearly half the space, is a highly individualistic and occasionally brilliant effort to give new meaning to both historiography and rhetoric and to present new standards for historical criticism. This article should be interesting reading for all historians, particularly for young ones. Since it is opposed to the general social science point of view and does not attempt to summarize existing ideas, however, it seems rather out of place in this particular encyclopedia.

Other articles on history survey in more orthodox fashion both the historiography of major world areas and the major topical subdivisions of history. The international character of the encyclopedia is emphasized by having the articles on the philosophy of history and social history written by Englishmen, who perform ably. In fact, among the fourteen articles of the major section on history there is only one by a professional historian whose chief interest is American history.

Probably most historians will be more interested in the articles on other disciplines. From the sampling possible within a reasonable time these seem to achieve a high average of clarity and completeness. The qualitative historian wanting to learn about econometric models, for example, should have no difficulty in following the explanation. In a few highly specialized advanced discussions the nonmathematical historian may get lost, but he should have no occasion to turn to these articles in the first place. In a few instances articles on theoretical concepts fail to demonstrate their utility for the historian. Key figures in the history of philosophy and the social sciences are well treated, as, for example, Talcott Parsons on Émile Durkheim. In addition to the conventional disciplines and subdisciplines of the social sciences, there are major sections on

the arts, education, geography, law, linguistics, philosophy of science, and religion.

In the volumes as a whole one is impressed with the increasing complexity of social science in both subject and methods and with the rise of mathematics as a common language. In spite of growing interdisciplinary communication, however, bibliographies still tend to be discipline-bound. Too few scholars appear familiar with what has been written on their specialty in some discipline that they regard as remote. Perhaps the historian feels this more than the other social scientists because his work is more often overlooked. Mechanized bibliographical aids and retrieval systems may soon alleviate this trouble.

Regardless of any minor shortcomings they might find, historians should use the *Encyclopedia*. Nowhere can they so easily find the new information they need in order to keep up with the expanding interests of the younger generation, and, if the young delve into these volumes, their interests will expand even faster.

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THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE GREAT CHURCH IN CAPTIVITY: A STUDY OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE EVE OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST TO THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

By *Steven Runciman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 454. \$9.50.)

THE full story of the Greek Orthodox Church under Ottoman domination has not been attempted before and with good reason. Not only is much of the documentation still inaccessible or scattered in obscure publications, but the story itself appears singularly unattractive at first sight. Aside from some humble "neo-martyrs" (whom Runciman does not mention), the Greek Church between 1453 and 1821 showed much more subservience than heroism. It produced many scribblers and compilers but hardly a single theologian or historian of real stature. It was even reluctant to define its doctrine unless strenuously prodded from the outside. Constantly torn by intrigue and dissension, manipulated by lay pressure groups and foreign powers, and chronically in debt, the "Great Church" did not present an edifying spectacle.

One might have thought that a story of this kind was not particularly suitable for Runciman's pen. His forte lies in lively narrative, not the patient examination of minutiae upon which the chronicle of the Greek Church has to be built. And so he has chosen to write not so much on his subject as around it. The first 160 pages are spent on summarizing well-known facts about the Byzantine Church before 1453. Another 110 pages are concerned with the approaches made to the Orthodox Church by other denominations and foreign states—Rome, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Anglicans, and Moscow. This provides an opportunity to tell some good tales. The most entertaining pages of the book are those devoted to the "Anglican Experiment," where we hear, for example, of one Nathanael Conopius who, in the 1640's, astonished the Fellows of Balliol College by drinking coffee in the morning, and who, after being expelled by the Puritans, "ended his days drinking coffee as Archbishop of Smyrna." There is

also much good fun in the tribulations of the Greek College set up at Oxford by that early philhellene, Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe, who, after attending a speech by the visiting metropolitan of Philippopolis, "exerted himself" to show his English colleagues that he had understood the prelate's "Hellenistick Greek."

We are left with about 140 pages of text that deal more specifically with the internal affairs of the Orthodox Church in captivity, but even here Runciman misses few opportunities to go off on a tangent in search of a story. As a result, the basic problems remain obscure. For the Orthodox Church was not only a religious but also a political organization, and behind the kaleidoscopic succession of patriarchal nonentities lie all the realities that affected the life of the subjected Orthodox communities: the flow of populations from one part of the Ottoman Empire to another; the quest for new means of livelihood, first in the guilds (such as the furriers' guild of Constantinople) and later in international shipping; the pilgrim trade (hence the embittered wrangles over possession of the Holy Places); the Greek infiltration of the Danubian Principalities, itself part of a larger phenomenon, the Greek Diaspora, and many other inter-related developments. Only against the background of these realities does the story of the Constantinople Patriarchate begin to make any sense.

The author is aware that the eighteenth century was a particularly crucial period in which the Orthodox Church was somehow deflected from its proper course, and he suggests two explanations for this phenomenon. First, he accuses the Phanariots of turning the Church into a vehicle of Greek nationalist feeling. Second, he finds that between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth the Church had gradually lost touch with the people, that the clergy had become more corrupt and ignorant, and that the standards of monastic life had declined. It would be difficult to substantiate either of these explanations; in fact, I would suggest that the reverse was true. The Phanariots, whose livelihood depended on the preservation of the Ottoman system, were, by and large, anything but nationalist, and the standard of education, clerical or otherwise, had certainly risen between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth. What really happened, I think, is that the Church was forced into much closer contact with Western Europe, and this, too, had much to do with the Greek Diaspora. The eighteenth century was a time when Greek colonies were mushrooming in all commercial centers: Trieste and Marseilles, Vienna and Leipzig, London and Manchester, and all the way to Calcutta. Every enterprising Greek went abroad for a short or a long period, and when he found himself in "enlightened Europe," he discovered a world that was no longer Christian. The career of the churchman Evgenios Voulgaris, just as those of the scholar Korais and the political agitator Rigas, can only be understood in the context of the Greek Diaspora. Greek literature (in the sense of printed books) which, until this period, had been largely ecclesiastical, became flooded with translations of French philosophical textbooks and French novels. The Church hierarchy reacted as best it could to defend its vested interests; it extolled the power of the Sultan and fulminated against French godlessness, but the cause was lost because the Greek elite—the new mercantile bourgeoisie—had defected to the West.

This book would have been much better if the author had attempted to place

the "Great Church" in its contemporary social setting. As it is, it can be commended as a very readable, fairly well-documented, tactful, yet humorous account of the decline of a great spiritual institution.

Dumbarton Oaks

CYRIL MANGO

ENGLISH PURITANISM FROM JOHN HOOPER TO JOHN MILTON.

By *Everett H. Emerson*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 313. \$10.00.)

SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN EARLY AMERICA. By *Daniel B.*

Shea, Jr. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 280. \$7.50.)

THE taste for the Tudor-Stuart centuries, already of many decades standing, continues, for whether or not the same tensions still operate, parallels can scarcely be denied. These two books explicitly and implicitly suggest why—all coherence in politics, religion, society, and cosmology is gone. No theme ran through political tracts so much as the evil of sedition or, conversely, of power, none through religious discourse so much as reform, none through social literature so much as change, and none through cosmology so much as novelty. A new commonwealth and a new church, a new heaven and a new earth were at hand. That autobiography and tension are nearly allied must strike every student of that genre. The agony of Augustine is not for everyone, but many a man has seen eternity and struggled to find his place in it. Ecstasy is not necessary, only the overweening search for peace. That the seventeenth century had a rich harvest of versions of the self, visions of the self, too, both in England and America, should cause no wonder; neither should the tendency of historians to fasten on that century as the beginnings of autobiography and of biography as we know it. Neither attribution is true; neither is inexplicable. Since autobiography must not be construed wholly in formal terms, historians may properly include sermons, fugitive pieces, and poetry as manifesting autobiographical urges: they too reflect spiritual malaise. Particularly did the quest for and the reporting of individual religious experience mark Puritan diaries, autobiographies, and sermons. Unwarrantedly this temper has been made to support more than it can bear; it has been equated with the experimental spirit in politics and science. Experience is not experiment; nor is experiment everywhere to be equated with utility.

In his exploration of the American scene in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Shea first surveys several Quaker journals, with most attention, as might be expected, to John Woolman, whose very effort to be self-effacing revealed more than "tell-it-all" autobiographies. Then follow sketches of several Puritan narratives, setting the stage for the Mathers and Jonathan Edwards. In dealing with the latter the author also explores at length the unpublished "Spiritual Travels" of Nathan Cole (1765), a complement to Edwards' *Personal Narrative*, and Samuel Hopkins' *Sketches*, which he offers as a contrast. His substantial conclusion effectively puts Franklin's *Autobiography* in the widening stream and finds space for such epigoni as Thoreau, Whitman, Emily Dickinson, and Henry Adams. For his part, Emerson, combining narrative and

anthology, has selected twenty spokesmen of Puritanism for the period 1550–1640, the majority of them known, if at all, only by name. After an introductory chapter on the changing pleas and arguments of Puritanism, he prefaces what he regards as an essential statement by each spokesman with a brief biographical sketch. Although his opinions are generally unexceptionable, he might have qualified his belief that Puritanism was a peculiarly English and American phenomenon, as well as his suggestion that only recently has the Puritan as an “old, dour, know-nothing killjoy” passed from the scene. Such ancient chestnuts ought not to be served up again, least of all prefaced by the claim of a fresh study of important sources and the incorporation of modern research. Our knowledge has gone beyond special pleadings, especially since Emerson concedes that the very idea of “the Puritan” is of questionable value.

To say that both these books facilitate our understanding of Tudor-Stuart Puritanism and of contemporary changes is not to suggest that they answer all of our questions or indeed that they make the most effective use of what they do present. One would like to know how other materials support, contradict, qualify, or omit what these subjects chose to recount. Did they write letters and to whom? What impression did they make upon contemporaries? What do these present materials attest unwittingly? What impression might one get, say, from other sermons by these and other Puritan divines? Such addenda, to be sure, would stretch each book unreasonably, but they do suggest further investigation into a subject often loosely handled.

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CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE AGE OF EXPANSION: EUROPE AND THE WORLD 1559–1660. By Henry Kamen et al. Edited by Hugh Trevor-Roper. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1968. Pp. 360. \$30.00.)

How is one to make a scholarly judgment about so sumptuous a book? The reader is overwhelmed by a dazzling array of illustrations, which take up far more space than the text, and, if he can resist the blaze of glossy color, he must still find some way to balance this hefty volume on his knees while trying to evaluate the contributions of ten learned scholars to an overview of the years between 1559 and 1660. For those who hesitate, it must be said at once that the effort is well worthwhile, though the publisher might render a greater service to students of the period, if indeed these are of any concern to him, were he to issue the essays by themselves in a small book.

Most of the shortcomings of the volume—including two classic misprints that describe Poland’s “fat-sighted leaders” and the cheese and fruit that Germans ate for “desert”—can be traced to those areas which were presumably the responsibility of the publishers rather than the authors. It is regrettable to discover, among a collection of illustrations remarkable both for originality (for example, the recently discovered painting of Puritan leaders by Netscher) and for relevance (for example, Van der Venne’s telling *Fishers of Men*), that there should be purposeless and uninformative pictures like the portraits of Buckingham and Pym. Elsewhere Claude is lumped together with Annibale Carracci and

Caravaggio, though he is generations and worlds apart from his predecessors, and mathematics and astronomy (but not physics!) are "particularly associated" with the seventeenth century. Even consistency is not maintained: on the same page a caption and the text give totally different dates for Palestrina's participation in the Counter Reformation (and it might be noted that, in the history of music, this great composer was a conservative, not an innovator, as is here suggested); and in one chapter French diplomatic activity at the Diet of Regensburg (1630) is called a "triumph," while in another it is considered, correctly, to have been "bungled." Straightforward errors, such as the date of the suppression of Port Royal or the death of Frederick II, are regrettably frequent.

But of the quality of the essays themselves there can be no question. They are uneven and often aim at different levels, but in combination they are a most useful introduction to the period. Only one article seems decidedly out of place: Clasen's account of German life before 1618. This is a splendidly detailed description of social, economic, and political developments, based on a wide familiarity with the monographic literature, but its qualities will appeal only to the specialist. No one else would be able to digest the mass of information packed into each sentence, let alone the difference between Hesse and Hessen when Hesse alone appears on the map. It could also be argued that the history of Germany during this period does not hold the same general significance as, for example, the development of science, overseas expansion, or the emergence of Sweden—none of which receives systematic attention.

Hugh Trevor-Roper provides a sweeping introduction that extends a theme he has recently elaborated elsewhere: the contrast between the peaceful, "enlightened" generation of the period from about 1590 to 1620 and those that came before and after. The first chapter on a specific topic, by Henry Kamen, gives a solid, straightforward account of Spain's ups and downs from Philip II to Philip IV. This is followed by Charles Wilson's superb survey of the rise of the Netherlands, a subtle blending of social, economic, and political history that is the best brief introduction to the subject in English. H. G. Koenigsberger undertakes a larger task in trying to sum up the Thirty Years' War; he has made admirable use of recent scholarship and is particularly effective on the economic interests at stake in the fighting. It is only unfortunate that intellectual achievements are slighted; despite the war, Harvey's work was first published and disseminated in Germany, while Andreae's circle and the University of Jena were in the vanguard of European thought.

Excellent summaries of French and English history in this period by Menna Prestwich and G. E. Aylmer convey the cultural atmosphere of the times as well as the political, financial, and social problems. Prestwich, particularly, is successful in suggesting how artists and intellectuals reflect developments in society as a whole. The volume concludes with a chapter on Eastern Europe—an illuminating analysis by Henry Willetts of the contrasts between Poland and Russia—and informative chapters, obviously designed as introductions for Westerners, on Islam (from India to Turkey), China, and Japan.

Both the excitement and the difficulties of the century pervade the book. Despite the sad stories of Spain and Germany (Italy hardly appears), the princi-

pal impression is one of growth, as exemplified by the Netherlands, Sweden, England, France, and Russia. Yet even here the problems were profound and distressing: oppressive governments, cynical politicians, miserable peasants, harrowing wars, and, from the 1620's, economic hardship. One can argue with individual points of interpretation—it is remarkable, for instance, that both Wilson and Clasen put their chief stress on clerical laxity, with no mention of the appeal of simple piety, when discussing the spread of Protestantism—but the general conclusion that emerges from the essays is inescapable. If this was a period of unprecedented vitality and expansion in European history, it was also a period of unprecedented cruelty and violence. In the graphic illustrations and the social analyses of this glittering book, the double heritage of “the Baroque century” is lucidly and strikingly exposed.

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THEODORE K. RABB

THE ARROW WAR: AN ANGLO-CHINESE CONFUSION, 1856-1860.

By *Douglas Hurd*. (New York: Macmillan Company. [1968.] Pp. 254. \$5.95.)

THE PAPER DRAGON: AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHINA WARS, 1840-1900. By *John Selby*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. 214. \$6.95.)

Few episodes in Victorian history are as colorful and yet receive as little careful study (perhaps for that very reason) as the “little wars” that expanded the British Empire, diverted Victorians at their breakfast tables, and occasionally exercised their conscience. Well-rounded studies of these episodes are therefore very welcome. Mr. Hurd, a former member of the British foreign service, has provided one in his entertaining and sound account of the war (or rather two wars) that began with the seizure of the lorcha *Arrow* at Canton in October 1856. He has made good use of all the standard published works, as well as some British and French manuscript sources. In particular his use of the Elgin Manuscripts has allowed him to paint a sympathetic picture of that melancholic Scots peer. It is one of the minor ironies of history that Elgin is best remembered for his decision to burn the Summer Palace since, as Hurd shows, he worried far more than most of his contemporaries about the wisdom of Britain's proceedings in China. Hurd has fortunately avoided unbalancing his account with colorful tactical details at the expense of its broader significance, always a danger in works like this. He has tied the *Arrow* war firmly to Victorian domestic history with a long account of the arguments in Parliament, the press, and the country at large over British policy in China. Hurd's discussion of the election of 1857, in which Palmerston carried the day with an appeal to the electorate largely on the issue of a forward policy in China, shows that Great Britain was far from unconscious of empire even before Disraeli (a Little Englander in 1857) discovered it. Hurd has given us a lively account of an important episode in mid-Victorian imperialism.

China's long series of defeats at the hands of small Western military forces during the nineteenth century is a very interesting theme, but unfortunately Mr. Selby, an instructor at Sandhurst, has developed it superficially. To have ac-

accomplished his purpose in one slim volume would have required a high degree of organization and compression, and this book has neither. In a work devoted to Chinese military contact with the West, the longest chapter is devoted to the Taiping rebellion and its suppression. Selby succumbs to the temptation to dwell on tactical detail, and the book consequently takes on an episodic character, with little effort expended on discussing the broader significance of any of the wars. For a book that leans heavily on secondary sources, there are some curious omissions in the bibliography, such as the Navy Records Society's important volume on the Second China War. Readers looking for a good general account of China's nineteenth-century military encounters with the West will find Selby's book a disappointment.

University of Delaware

RAYMOND A. CALLAHAN

THE GREAT RAPPROCHEMENT: ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, 1895-1914. By *Bradford Perkins*. (New York: Atheneum. 1968. Pp. viii, 341. \$7.95.)

RECIPROCITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE, 1932-1938. By *Richard N. Kottman*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 294. \$7.50.)

HAVING devoted three useful volumes to Anglo-American relations during the early national period, Bradford Perkins moves forward a century to consider a second and more permanent rapprochement. Among the many factors he analyzes were the relative decline of British power; the clear understanding of British ministers and all but a few diplomats that they could not afford to risk a serious clash with the United States; their resultant readiness to give way in policy disputes and, as it seemed to some observers north of the forty-ninth parallel, their willingness to sacrifice Canadian interests; the persistence and possible increase of American social Anglophilia, combined with a diminution of political Anglophobia; the sense of a kindred approach, both to democracy at home and to a variety of problems overseas—imperialism, disdain for non-Anglo-Saxon nations, and suspicion of Germany and Russia. And so the controversy over Venezuela of 1895-1896 subsided, and while neither nation quite recaptured the sudden, almost maudlin camaraderie of 1898, in episode after episode they either regulated their disagreements or acted more or less in concert. Britain conceded and even welcomed the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, acted complaisantly over the Alaska boundary dispute and the Panama treaty, and fell in line with Wilson's Mexican policy. The two English-speaking countries were still far from contracting a formal alliance, and in their reactions to a number of diplomatic incidents they were initially out of step. Their harmony was, nevertheless, rare and remarkable by the usual cutthroat standards of international relations.

Perkins is a careful, lucid scholar, well aware that diplomacy in democratic nations is determined less by the finesse or fumbings of individuals, or by flows of sentiment at Pilgrim Society dinners, than by broad calculations of interest. But such calculations are subtle and far-reaching in the case of Anglo-

American dealings. Sentiment, emulation, and self-interest all disposed the two nations to move in the same general direction. Perkins has been able to draw upon some admirable recent monographs, the conclusions of which he largely accepts. His own book is thus a synthesis, with here and there a fresh perspective. His judgments will no doubt be acceptable to historians on both sides of the Atlantic. In welcoming his reasonable, judicious account, they may wish that he had probed a little further on some points. To demand a wholesale reinterpretation of "imperialism" in the Anglo-American context would be to demand an entirely different book. Perkins might, however, have made a good book still better if, for example, he had expanded his comments on the importance of racist-Darwinist attitudes, weighed the validity of Hiram Bingham's suggestion that the Monroe Doctrine had become an irksome nuisance to the United States, or explored the soundness of the German view that Britain displayed an excessive "servility" toward the United States. Need the British have yielded quite so much? Were they as pusillanimous and stupid as Theodore Roosevelt and his associates occasionally said?

The more dismal complications of transatlantic relationships are brought out in Richard N. Kottman's study of American, British, and Canadian diplomacy during the 1930's. During the Bryanite era and that of the subsequent Kellogg-Briand Pact, the United States was accused of a naïve faith in the efficacy of bilateral or multilateral disarmament and arbitration agreements that were hardly worth the paper they were written on. With the depression of the 1930's, Kottman shows, American diplomacy at the hands of Secretary of State Cordell Hull took a new and apparently more realistic tack. The attempt was now to resolve international dissension through the revival of world trade, since economic prosperity could be seen as the key to political stability. Hull's endeavors eventually led to reciprocal trade agreements with Canada (1935, 1938) and with the United Kingdom (1938). The way was hard and discouraging, though more with London than with Ottawa. The English were suspicious of American aims, doubtful of the soundness of Hull's thesis, immersed in schemes for imperial preference, haunted by German and Japanese aggressiveness, and committed to rearmament. Kottman's competent chronicle is necessarily minor and negative in scope—a story of limited and tardy decisions, of palliatives proffered as panaceas.

University of Sussex

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

CHEMICAL WARFARE: A STUDY IN RESTRAINTS. By *Frederic J. Brown*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 355. \$9.00.)

MAJOR Brown's excellent study deserves to be widely read. He has tackled the problems associated with the use of gas from the policy standpoint and has done a masterful job of showing how various factors ranging from military conservatism and resistance to the arrival of science and technology to emotionalism and propaganda worked, often in an irrational fashion, to see that gas was not used in the Second World War. His study is of considerable interest because gas as a

weapon produced something like 30 per cent of the US Army's hospitalized casualties in the latter part of 1918. Yet this weapon, which maimed, often only temporarily, was in effect banned in favor of more lethal weapons. While Brown's approach is very largely American and makes considerable use of War Department and other archives, he is not alone among those who have studied gas. In the 1920's both Fuller and Liddell Hart pointed out that though one out of every three men hit by bullet, bomb, or shell died, only one in thirty of those gassed did, and they used US Army figures to prove it. Brown makes many interesting points in the course of his analysis of the path of gas policy. For instance, at the end of the First World War the Chemical Warfare Service was about to be abolished by the General Staff in Washington, whose attitude was not unlike that of the Royal Navy against submarines—that they should be abolished as immoral; Major General Amos Fries, the CWS chief in the AEF, got himself transferred to Washington and persuaded both the chiefs of services within the army and Congress to support his service. The resulting propagandistic effort was so successful that on the one hand the CWS was saved and on the other the peace advocates almost got it abolished in the 1922 disarmament talks. But the Senate eventually voted in 1926 not to accept the recommendations of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the Geneva Protocol was allowed to die in committee on the grounds that the United States could not afford to be unprepared against an opponent using gas.

After a concise study of the restraints against the use of gas in World War II, including a brief analysis of both British and German policies, the author ends with a useful summary and conclusions that could well provide a point of departure for others interested in studying the complex factors that go into the making of weapons, or indeed for that matter any other, policy.

The whole work is meticulously footnoted, and there are full bibliographies.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

THE CIVILIZING MISSION: A HISTORY OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR OF 1935-1936. By *A. J. Barker*. (New York: Dial Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 383. \$7.50.)

ITALY's invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935 was not a "civilizing mission." Propagandists in the Italian Foreign Ministry tried to present such an argument to the League of Nations. They hoped that by emphasizing what was asserted to be the barbarity of the people of Ethiopia there would be some attenuation of the international condemnation expected to follow what everyone knew at the time was a case of outright military aggression. The contention was not sustained. Its author, Raffaele Guariglia, acknowledged that it fell "in a void." Thus Lieutenant Colonel Barker's allusive title is misleading, and he does not argue convincingly for such a purpose behind Mussolini's invasion.

Mussolini conceived the conquest of Ethiopia as a colonial adventure by which to enhance the prestige of his regime, and he calculated, more or less correctly, that he could execute this final act of European territorial imperialism in Africa along traditional nineteenth-century lines, with the tacit acquiescence of

the governments of the other two great African powers, France and Great Britain. The political situation in Europe in the mid-1930's, however, and Ethiopia's membership in the League of Nations caused Italy's military action to become a matter of international public concern that prevented easy acceptance of it. A consequence of the war, which Mussolini was all too ready to accept, in addition to the destruction of Ethiopia's independence, was to pose a crucial challenge to the stability of the Versailles settlement. When Italy was not stopped, the League's system of collective security was exposed as a sham, the indecision and weakness of Britain and France were revealed, encouragement was given thereby to Hitler's revisionist aggressiveness, and British equivocation ruined the possibility of establishing an anti-German front that included Italy. Joseph Avenol, secretary-general of the League, called the Italo-Ethiopian conflict "a European poison."

Barker is good at describing the action of the military campaigns of this conflict. His narrative is fast paced, and he shows how Pietro Badoglio, once he took command from the cautious Emilio De Bono, assembled and then used a superior force in the field to overwhelm the undersupplied and poorly led Ethiopians. Barker's account of the war itself, particularly the events on the northern front, is the best part of the book. Thirty well-chosen photographs complement the text. The diplomatic and political phases of the conflict are treated less satisfactorily. Here the author focuses on the central role played by Great Britain. The British government could not decide whether to try to save the League by firm action against Italy or to try to maintain good relations with Mussolini by appeasing his ambition. In the end Samuel Hoare's "double policy" did neither. Collective security was doomed to failure through ineffective sanctions, and Mussolini was alienated by the grudging, hostile manner the British adopted toward him. Barker does a competent job explaining British policy, although he slights such matters as the influence of the armed forces in urging caution and the various proposals for a negotiated peace prior to the notorious Hoare-Laval plan. Some other important matters are glossed over. The reader would have been helped by a more systematic investigation of the reasons behind Mussolini's decision to invade Ethiopia, the advantages to Italian diplomacy in prolonging the arbitration of the Walwal incident (which clash it is an exaggeration to call the "casus belli"), Mussolini's role in the conduct of the military operations, the effects on Italy and on Italian policy of the war and sanctions, and the diplomatic activity of states other than Britain, particularly France.

This book is not a scholarly study of the conflict. The text is based on a substantial number of published sources, all in English, but it does not reflect the extensive bibliography attached to the end of the volume. Barker understands the main lines of the story, which, by and large, he tells crisply and lucidly. But often his style is too casual for strict accuracy, his argument loosens, and assertions and evidence are presented carelessly. This detracts from the value of Barker's book as a work of history.

University of California, Santa Cruz

GEORGE W. BAER

AMERICA AND SWARAJ: THE U.S. ROLE IN INDIAN INDEPENDENCE. By *A. Guy Hope*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1968. Pp. vi, 136. \$4.50.)

UNITED STATES-PHILIPPINE RELATIONS, 1946-1956. By *Sung Yong Kim*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1968. Pp. iv, 158. \$4.50.)

MORE than any other factor, American attitudes toward Asian nationalism have been responsible for the nation's disunity at every time of crisis in the Far East since mid-century. On this issue successive Washington administrations laid the foundation for the great debate over Vietnam. At the heart of the controversy has been the question of nationalism's relationship to Communism. Can a Communist elite be both national and international, local and universal, simultaneously? It can respond either to indigenous conditions or to transcendent ideologies, but can it do both? These demands are seldom identical, if indeed they can be harmonized at all. When those in power make choices, they invariably opt for the specific, for even if Communist in ideology, no individual or group can wield political power except on the foundation of a political structure whose successes rest ultimately on policies that respond to indigenous necessities. No less than democratic governments, Communist leaders must measure their strength by their ability to satisfy primarily national interests and ambitions.

These two small volumes demonstrate well the two phases of the official United States response to nationalism as embodied in the principle of self-determination. Throughout World War II, and continuing at least until 1947, the United States government placed its prestige behind the Asian independence movements, especially those that challenged the British and French Empires. A. Guy Hope, a former career Foreign Service officer, has traced the evolution of official United States policy toward *Swaraj*—Indian self-rule. Active American concern for Indian independence began with the Atlantic Charter of August 1941. Unlike Churchill, Roosevelt took the wartime promise of liberation seriously. Hope's researches reveal that many groups within the United States—church organizations, Indian residents, Negro leaders, members of the academic community, congressmen, editors, as well as State Department officers—took up the Indian cause. Secretary of State Cordell Hull acknowledged repeatedly this popular sentiment for Indian independence in his public statements. Still, whatever its preferences, the United States could bring only limited pressure to bear on the London government. But while that pressure was gentle, it was also continuous. It included Roosevelt's occasional admonitions to Churchill as well as United States Ambassador William Phillips' open support, during his brief tour in India early in 1943, of Mahatma Gandhi. India achieved *Swaraj* in August 1947 as a divided nation. How important was the American role? The author makes only limited claims for it. Britain had good reasons of its own to grant independence, including fatigue, war-weariness, and the unprecedented force given to nationalism by the war itself. This is a modest book, but it presents what is essential and does it very well.

Sung Yong Kim's study of United States-Philippine relations from 1946 to 1956 illustrates the changes in the American outlook toward Asian nationalism that came with the fall of Chiang Kai-shek and the Korean War. Within the

context of an expanding Communist power, centering in the Kremlin, revolutionary change became suspect; that which was Communist-led, intolerable. The United States search for allies and bases in the Western Pacific and the reaction of Asian nationalists to this globalization of American containment policies emerge as the essential subject matter of this volume. The United States first gained possession of bases in the Philippines in March 1947, long before Communist power loomed as a threat to the stability of the Orient. When the Korean War inaugurated a new age of insecurity in the Pacific, the United States offered the Philippines a defense treaty that was signed on August 30, 1951. Thereafter Philippine nationalists followed two divergent lines. Those who accepted the American conceptualization of a Communist danger—their key spokesman being President Ramón Magsaysay—defended each new military concession and each new treaty alliance as essential for Philippine security. Invariably the author seems to accept this rationale of Philippine policy as correct. The opposition, led by Senator Claro M. Recto, accepted the older legitimacy of Asian nationalism, embodied in the slogan “Asia for the Asians.” Recto challenged every defense arrangement of the Philippine government as evidence of excessive fear and an infringement on Philippine independence. Those who chose to anchor Philippine policy to the over-all, strategic considerations of the United States invariably had their way. Still it is quite certain that even then Recto’s argumentation reflected more accurately the Asia that actually existed. This volume is highly useful. What is absent from its pages is some analysis of the character and magnitude of the Communist danger in Asia.

University of Virginia

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN, 1943-45: A POLITICAL AND MILITARY RE-ASSESSMENT. By *G. A. Shepperd*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xiii, 450. \$11.00.)

A POLITICAL and military reassessment this book is not. Essentially it is a conventional narrative of battles and campaigns by a long-retired veteran of World War II, pitched mainly at the battalion and division command levels. Both above and below this point, Shepperd’s interest and understanding taper off; he has little to say to the statesman, the strategist, or the man in the foxhole. Even within this narrow focus the book offers no fresh emphasis or interpretation.

The author’s absorption in his own narrative deserves respect. Also to his credit, he seems to have no strong antipathies, only a mild one toward the Americans. Even poor General J. P. Lucas, the Jubilation T. Cornpone of the Anzio landings, fares better at his hands than at those of most of his American critics. For the Germans his admiration is boundless. Unfortunately he lacks the skill to make his story exciting. The writing is stolid and awkward. Paragraphs begin and end for no discernible reason and often run on for two pages or more. Long passages are quoted, quite pointlessly, from other works. The internal chapter structure defies analysis.

Grand strategy is, above all, not Shepperd’s strong point. His accounts of the Casablanca, Washington, first Quebec, and Cairo-Tehran Conferences, where

the central strategic debates and decisions occurred, are based mainly on a few standard works, principally Churchill's memoirs, Bryant's gloss on the Brooke diaries, and the official accounts of Ehrman and Matloff. (Michael Howard's more recent study appears in the bibliography, but is not cited.) The fault lies not so much in the author's rather limited canvas of the literature as in his evident failure to grasp the issues. One would hardly suspect from reading this account, for example, that the studies of Ehrman and Matloff, both of which he cites and even quotes, represent radically divergent interpretations of Anglo-American differences over European strategy. He also repeats the canard, long ago discredited, that in the summer of 1943 nine-tenths of the available Allied assault craft were in the Pacific; he alludes to shipping shortages at a time when the U-boat threat had almost disappeared and Allied shipping clogged the Mediterranean ports; and he is less than reliable on the admittedly confusing question of target dates for the cross-Channel invasion.

To end on a querulous personal note: We in the fraternity of World War II historians remember General Marshall's wartime British counterpart and sparring partner as Sir Alan Brooke. Lord Alanbrooke, though the same man, belongs to a later era.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

INDIEN UND DIE SOWJETUNION. By *Dietmar Rothermund*. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung. Forschungsberichte und Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 23.] (Tübingen: the Arbeitsgemeinschaft; distrib. by Böhlau Verlag, Köln Graz. 1968. Pp. viii, 128. DM 18.)

DURING the past fifteen years Soviet relations with India have developed to a point where "they are characterized by an intensity and variety that goes far beyond the normal extent of interstate relations," according to Dietmar Rothermund. The two governments have increasingly cooperated in their foreign policies, trade relations, and industrial development. Because of the importance of India for Soviet interests in South and Central Asia, Soviet leaders have focused their third world policy on India.

Rothermund has produced an excellent introductory analysis of the relations between the Soviet Union and India in which he attempts to integrate all aspects of this relationship, rather than concentrating on merely one area. After presenting a brief historical survey of the development of the ties between the two countries, the author examines in more detail the importance of the Indian Communist party, economic aid and trade, and Soviet propaganda in the development of the interstate relations of the USSR and India.

One of the most interesting sections of this brief monograph deals with the increasing coincidence of Soviet and Indian foreign policy in the early 1950's, which paved the way for future cooperation. In both Korea and Indochina India attempted to play the role of mediator, rather than supporting Western policy. After Stalin's death, Indian and Soviet policy on such issues as Suez, the Lebanese and Jordanian crises of 1958, and the settlement in Laos in 1962

brought the two governments closer together. Since 1960, both countries have had a similar interest in containing Chinese expansion in Central Asia.

The author argues, most convincingly, that the Soviet Union is much more interested in stability in the subcontinent than it is in gaining advantages for Indian Communists. He points to the positive benefits that India has gained from its improved relations with the Soviet Union, including military assistance against China, economic and technical assistance for the construction of Indian industry, and expanded markets for its exports.

The monograph represents a good case study of the increasingly pragmatic nature of Soviet relations with developing countries. Rothermund has very ably condensed and integrated the findings of other analyses on specific aspects of Indian-Soviet relations—such as those by Tansky, Sager, and Kautsky—in order to present an overview of the development of cooperation between the two countries.

University of Kansas

ROGER E. KANET

Ancient

AGRICULTURA MESOPOTAMICA NACH SUMERISCH-AK-KADISCHEN QUELLEN: EINE LEXIKALISCHE UND KULTURGESCHICHTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG. By *Armas Salonen*. [Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ, Series B, Number 149.] (Helsinki: [the Academia.] 1968. Pp. 502, 44 plates.)

In the last two decades Armas Salonen has produced a series of monographs on various subjects in the daily life of Mesopotamia. His latest work is a very learned study of the implements and processes of agriculture.

He discusses in great detail such objects as the plow, the harrow, and the hoe and such processes as sowing, harvesting, threshing, and irrigation. The pre-eminent status of the plow may be seen from the fact that Salonen can discuss nearly a hundred different lexical terms for its variant forms and parts.

Since much of the text is occupied with citations from Sumerian and Akkadian sources, this is hardly the book for a noncuneiformist. His introduction does summarize some of the developments of the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition from food gathering to food raising. This information, however, may be more easily extracted by historians from publications by Braidwood. When he does touch on the larger issues of agriculture and its relationship to society, the author generally reproduces what others have written on these subjects.

The illustrations demonstrate very strikingly how little agriculture has changed in some areas in the millennia since it was first developed in Mesopotamia.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI

A LAND CALLED CRETE: A SYMPOSIUM IN MEMORY OF HARRIET BOYD HAWES, 1871-1945. [Smith College Studies in History, Number 45.] (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 1968. Pp. 153. \$5.75.)

THIS collection of studies, originally delivered orally, honors the memory of the gifted pioneer excavator of Gournia. In them, four distinguished experts sum up for the general reader the spectacular advance in our knowledge of Bronze Age Crete and Greece since the days, some sixty years ago, when Harriet Hawes was in the field.

J. Walter Graham reports on how much has been added to our understanding of Cretan architecture; among other things, we can now be surer than ever that it was largely a native achievement owing little of importance to the Near East. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., examining the influence of Minoan Crete upon Mycenaean Greece, demonstrates that, for all the overwhelming effect the older culture had upon the impressionable newcomer, there is consistently discernible in the latter an unmistakable Helladic element as, for example, the Mycenaean's marked preference for man's doings as against the Cretan's for nature's forms. Emily Vermeule discusses the centuries when Minoan and Mycenaean civilization was in decline; she emphasizes that the evidence points to diverse causes varying from region to region and issues a salutary caveat against seeking any single explanation, such as a raid of Sea Peoples or an invasion of Dorians. She has not consistently practiced her preaching, for she espouses Rhys Carpenter's theory of a thirteenth-century shift in trade winds that spread drought over Greece, a singularly discriminating shift that managed to leave unaffected those areas where the archaeological record offers no evidence to support it. Lastly, Sterling Dow deals with Bronze Age writing and its contribution to the understanding of Homer's epics. He argues that Linear B was utilized solely for the bookkeeping of the palace bureaucracies; that, when the palaces were destroyed, it died with them, leaving the subsequent Dark Ages illiterate; that Homer was illiterate and composed in the pure oral tradition, but that he lived during the first decades of a reborn literacy and so was able to dictate his compositions to a scribe versed in writing Greek with the newly borrowed Phoenician alphabet. It is a good case, though oversimplified and presented too cocksurely. For example, is Dow unaware that some of his views run directly counter to Vermeule's?

All nonspecialists who wish to be brought up to date in this critical and puzzling period of history will find these authoritative and well-written essays a veritable boon.

New York University

LIONEL CASSON

THE WORLD OF THE PHOENICIANS. By *Sabatino Moscati*. Translated from the Italian by *Alastair Hamilton*. [Praeger History of Civilization.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. xxii, 281. \$10.00.)

TEN years ago a general reader curious about the Phoenicians might have searched in vain for a recent work in English on that subject. Today, several books are available. Indeed, it might be said that the market is now glutted to

such a degree that there is no room for what is still needed—a truly good book on the Phoenicians.

Completed in 1965, then translated from the Italian by Alastair Hamilton, and finally published in 1968, Professor Moscati's *World of the Phoenicians* includes the Carthaginians as well. This arrangement is logical, customary, and nearly unavoidable since so little is known about the Phoenicians that any portrait of their civilization must be patched with pieces taken from our information about their physical and cultural descendants, the Carthaginians. The present work therefore begins with chapters on the history, religion, art, economy and trade, script and language, and colonizing activities of the Phoenicians in the eastern Mediterranean. The same general outline is followed for the Carthaginians, while a final section is concerned with the western colonies established in Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. A two-page conclusion and a select bibliography end the work. With sixty pages of photographs, fifty text figures, and seven maps, there is no lack of illustrative material.

Although Moscati's treatment is more detailed, one suspects that most readers will find it less satisfactory than Donald Harden's *Phoenicians*, issued by the same publisher in 1962. The saving feature of Moscati's volume is the discussion of the colonies in the west into which he has incorporated the results of recent Italian, British, and Iberian archaeological activities. For the rest, it is to be regretted that there is a conspicuous lack of inspiration or enthusiasm for the subject that might have compensated for other deficiencies. It may be felt, for example, that certain topics have been slighted: more could have been said on the difficult question of Phoenician origins, about the Phoenicians in Cyprus, the government of Carthage, or the survival of Phoenician cultural elements in both East and West. There is also on occasion an unfortunate tendency to prefer the testimony of the ancient classical authors to the evidence of archaeology.

A translator may not be expected to know that, while Tiglatpileser and Salmaneser are common Italian renderings, one ordinarily finds Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser in English, but surely the "fourth sarcophagi" mentioned on page 161 is calculated to bring any reader up short.

University of Minnesota

TOM B. JONES

ROMAN MILITARY LAW. By *C. E. Brand*. Preface by *Charles L. Decker*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1968. Pp. xxxiii, 226. \$6.50.)

THIS book by a colonel in the US Army who also has had extensive legal experience, with a foreword by a former Judge Advocate General, is a rather brief and general treatment of its subject, useful both as a survey and for the texts that are brought together. The author began many years ago as a student, and his subsequent experience has made him aware of the frequent necessity for military justice to take account of security and discipline above individual rights.

A people whose organization and point of view were so fundamentally military was naturally late in differentiating a *delictum* as *proprium militare*, and their military law, while always reflecting their special constitutional and religious background, was, it appears, also late in developing a true military code. Thus

the author rightly turns, after his introductory comments on the scanty source material, scattered over a long period, to a brief sketch of the Roman constitution, then to chapters based on discipline and the criminal law, the army organization, the provision for the enforcement of discipline, the religious sanctions. Then follow lists of individual offenses and their punishments, a too brief résumé of developments from the Punic Wars to Constantine, and finally some comments on the military codes still known. Useful appendixes present in Latin text and English translation the famous Title 16, *De Re Militari*, from Book XLIX of the *Digest*, the *Strategica* of Maurice, and, welcome because it is relatively unavailable, the *Military Laws from Ruffus*, a Byzantine treatise that has preserved much earlier material.

The treatment of the Roman constitution, based on the rather brief and archaizing outline in Cicero's *De Legibus* (3.6-11), rightly emphasizes the military assembly, the *Comitia centuriata*, and the sources of magisterial authority, but it is too abbreviated and sometimes imprecise. For example, Cicero does not actually say that the *Comitia centuriata* had "the highest authority in the name of the people to pass on the highest matters of state" (the reference is to its authority in capital cases), and it was not the Senate but the patricians in the Senate who produced the interrex.

A most important point is the basis of discipline and the criminal law as it affected the army. Here Mommsen provides the lead. The *patria potestas*, with its inherent power to compel (*coercitio*) extending even to power over life and death, was the basis of the right of command (*imperium*), which was at first unlimited. It was later limited in the civil sphere by the development of the right of appeal, but remained in the field. More might perhaps be made of the connection between *imperium* and auspices, both here and in the chapter on "Religion and Discipline." The question, important in the late Republic, how far the Porcian Law extended the right of appeal into the military sphere, seems insoluble with the little ancient evidence we have. The author's answer, that it could have applied only to nonmilitary matters, is supported not only by Cicero's claim that, in the field, commanders shall be subject to obey no one (*Leg.* 3.8) but also by the practical necessities of discipline. There are, besides, the undoubted examples of the exaction of summary punishment.

A chapter is devoted to the disciplinary authority delegated from the commander to the various officers and the customary procedures followed; another one is devoted to religious sanctions. Here the discussion of priests and vestals seems somewhat beside the point, but not so the emphasis on *fides*, on the oath to the commander and other special oaths. And there was also the oath to the standards. It is against this background that the known offenses and their punishments are listed and classified and the codes are described. With the punishments are mentioned the rewards, but without reference to the examples that are provided in such numbers by the inscriptions. The bibliography is good and up to date.

University of North Carolina

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

THEOPOMPUS AND FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS. By *W. Robert Connor*. (Washington, D. C.: Center for Hellenic Studies; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1968. Pp. xi, 311. \$10.00.)

THE LETTERS OF DEMOSTHENES. By *Jonathan A. Goldstein*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 320. \$12.00.)

CONNOR's book is cleverly written, the documentation is accurate, and he makes it seem likely that Theopompus of Chios had worked out a "diadochy of demagogues" (see the index) to explain Athenian policies in the fifth (and fourth!) centuries. All leaders fall into the same pattern, with personal power as the sole objective of each; they differ only in the means used to obtain that goal. The same motivation explains Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles, and Cleon. This, in itself, is an achievement when we remember the small number of fragments we still have that deal with this subject, as well as the casual nature of the references themselves. Perhaps the author should have stopped there, with Chapter iv. Instead Connor goes on to argue the value of Theopompus because he captured the "feeling of contemporary bitterness and acrimony" that was missing in later writers who idealized the fifth century. While admitting that the Chian historian was no archivist, Connor thinks that he read sources no longer available to us, such as comedies, speeches, and pamphlets that preserve a fifth-century flavor. But doubts persist. Granted that Theopompus knew Athenian politics of the fourth century, can we assume, with Connor, that such knowledge can serve as a touchstone for the Age of Pericles? When he adds that Theopompus was probably "more of a Mencken than a Ranke," one can only agree. But does this mean that at some distant date United States historians will be driven to reading H. L. Mencken to recover the contemporary flavor of the Age of Jackson? Theopompus is a formidable witness for the fourth century when he lived, but not, it seems to me, for the fifth.

The Letters of Demosthenes is also a historiographical study. The author makes use of every conceivable test—stylistic, philological, and historical—to determine whether or not the first four letters of the Demosthenic corpus are genuine. His conclusions are that the first three letters certainly, and the fourth probably, are by Demosthenes, and also that a fifth letter that we no longer have can be reconstructed by inference from the others. He gives detailed reasons for rearranging the order of the letters and then uses them to explain Demosthenes' role in the very difficult period between his flight after the Harpalus affair and his return in connection with the Lamian war. His interpretation is most persuasive, placing Demosthenes in quite a new light. Far from being fanatical in his opposition to Macedon, Demosthenes is shown to have learned and profited by the lesson of Chaeronea, only to be victimized by unscrupulous and less farsighted opponents in Athens. Goldstein includes a translation and a running commentary on each of the four letters, with separate appendixes on letters five and six, which he regards as spurious, and other pertinent matters. No short review can do justice to the care with which the author has developed his thesis. Nor is this apt to be dry reading for the layman, enlivened as it is with relevant allusions to Boss Tweed and others, which help to put this lively period of Athenian history into better focus. It is not necessary to agree with the author at

every point in order to appreciate his providing us with an apparatus for properly using this neglected fourth-century source. The advantage of this work over that of Connor is that Goldstein's texts are contemporary with the period they illuminate, while Theopompus' *Philippica* can make no such pretensions for the fifth century.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: POWER AS DESTINY. By *Peter Bamm*. Translated from the German by *J. Maxwell Brownjohn*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1968. Pp. 319. \$9.95.)

P. Bamm is the pseudonym of Curt Emmrich, M.D., surgeon and author of several books, one of which, the present work, appeared originally in 1965 under the title *Alexander und die Verwandlung der Welt*. The freshness and immediacy with which he follows Alexander's movements may, in part, be explained by the fact that the author spent more than two years retracing Alexander's actual route.

The author has woven his account of the personality and the world-shaking actions of this much-discussed figure into a magnificent tapestry, both verbal and pictorial, that is historically accurate, balanced, and stimulating. The excellent photographs (over 272 plates, 16 of them in color) are made an integral part of the text to illustrate the geography, art, and civilization of Macedonia and of the lands traversed by Alexander. Coins, sculpture, vase paintings, reliefs, jewelry, papyri and inscriptions, the remains of buildings and of roads that can be pictured make real the culture, thought, and life when words alone cannot. The appended list, which gives the sources of the illustrations, increases their value.

The text is unencumbered by the documentation that a professional history would demand, and it thereby gains in readability and *Übersichtlichkeit*. The distinctive charm of the author's writing is to give a sense of continuity and interrelationship in time, place, and person of historical events by uniting many shreds of history usually known only in a disconnected association. His unobtrusive judgments on men and events, his analysis of the artistic merits of works of art, with which one may not always be in agreement, give evidence of perceptive study and wide knowledge.

On the moot cruxes regarding Alexander, the author's positions are restrained and realistic. World conquest was not Alexander's purpose; the end he wanted to achieve was to drive the Persians from the Mediterranean. His eastern campaign envisioned "not the conquest of India but the opening of a Sea Route to India." His promotion of mass marriages and the training of Persian youths to fight in the Macedonian phalanx were not motivated by Alexander's possible belief in the brotherhood of man, but resulted from his "vision of a merger between the civilizations of the West and of the East." His claim to divine status in Hellas after being worshipped as Pharaoh in Egypt was a political expedient to justify his decree of amnesty for Greeks in Hellas.

In the blend of Alexander's personality could be observed the clear-sighted realism of his father, the mysticism of his mother, and the rationality of his tutor

Aristotle. Combined with his urge for fame was the irrational element of *pothos* which the author explains as a "vague longing, a sort of cosmic curiosity, a yearning for far-off places. . . ."

University of Texas

O. W. REINMUTH

‘Ο ΠΥΡΡΟΣ ‘ΕΝ ‘ΙΤΑΛΙΑΙ·ΣΚΟΠ ΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΡΑΣΙΣ ‘ΑΥΤΟΥ [Pyrrhus in Italy: His Goals and Action]. By *Ioannis A. Vartsos*. [“‘Αθήνα”· Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικὸν τῆς ‘εν ‘Αθηναῖς ‘Επιστημονικῆς ‘Εταιρείας. Series Διατριβῶν καὶ Μελετημάτων, Number 4.] (Athens: M. Pechlivanides & Co. 1967. Pp. 100.)

MOST modern scholarship presents King Pyrrhus of Epirus (319–272 B.C.) as a chivalrous adventurer who won proverbially costly victories over the Romans in Italy and the Carthaginians in Sicily, but accomplished nothing permanent. This Athens dissertation elevates him to the position of recognized leader of Panhellenism in the West, consciously trying to work out, in pursuance of Alexander’s plans for conquest, a balance of powers against the rising strength of Rome.

Vartsos begins with the sources—Plutarch the most extensive, Ennius the most important. He finds them defective, secondary, and prejudiced. He proves from Pyrrhus’ coins how the King propagandized himself as being fated to carry out the work of his ancestors Heracles, Achilles, and Alexander. Pyrrhus accepted the Tarentine invitation to intervene in Italy because he was indebted to Tarentum for previous help. Despite faction in the city, he whipped the Tarentines into shape, and, combining their forces with his own (including fearsome elephants), he beat the Romans twice, at Heraclea and at Asculum, though with heavy losses. Releasing Roman prisoners without ransom, he marched to within fifty miles of Rome, but was deflected by the realization of Roman defensive and offensive strength.

The core of Vartsos’ book is an exhaustive analysis of modern literature on Pyrrhus’ negotiations with Rome (280–278 B.C.). He concludes that the King negotiated twice: once after Heraclea, when he chivalrously returned the prisoners, but did not treat for peace; again after Asculum, when he wanted to free himself for his Sicilian adventure. The Romans rejected his overtures, ostensibly because they were moved by a patriotic speech of blind old Appius Claudius but really because they could now rely on a Carthaginian alliance.

This does not differ essentially from the conclusions available in such handbooks as H. Bengtson’s *Griechische Geschichte* (3d ed., 1965). Vartsos is industrious (131 bibliographical entries, in 7 languages), painstaking (in his analysis of the alternative modern accounts of the negotiations), and admirably clear, but not original. Given the state of the evidence, finality is impossible. Vartsos’ collection of material will be more valuable to his own countrymen than to other scholars who will prefer the key work of Pierre Lévêque (1957), Mary Lefkowitz (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LXIV [1959], 145–77), and Nicholas Hammond (1967).

University of Wisconsin

PAUL MACKENDRICK

AMMIANUS AND THE HISTORIA AUGUSTA. By *Sir Ronald Syme*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 237. \$6.25.)

SIR Ronald Syme, who gave us a monumental study of Tacitus and an important investigation of Sallust, has now turned to the puzzling compilation called the *Historia Augusta*, with fascinating and stimulating results. The *HA* is a compilation of the lives of thirty Roman emperors from Hadrian to Numerian. Its every aspect is controversial: we do not know its author or authors, its date, or its intentions. The traditional approach has been to treat the *HA* as some kind of an attempt at history and to try to separate fact from fiction. Syme considers that much of this has been "a waste of erudition," and he undertakes a refreshing new procedure. He chooses "to inspect composition and technique, to put under sharp scrutiny the ingenious author (who passes himself off as a collection of six biographers), to elicit his personality and circumscribe the literary and social milieu."

By this route Syme arrives at some surprising but intriguing conclusions: The author of the *HA* was an unknown *grammaticus* who began as a compiler but who ended "as a master in the art of historical fiction . . . someone who in the leisure of an obscure existence saw a sudden chance of literary diversion and succumbed to the seductions of fraud and mystification." In the matter of date Syme rejects the new orthodoxy of Baynes, which places the composition in 362-363 and explains it as a propaganda piece in behalf of Julian the Apostate. Instead, he returns to the old view of Dessau, which puts the *HA* in the time of Theodosius; Syme suggests it may have been completed about 395. He sees the purpose as altogether literary, not political: "The age of Theodosius vaunted its Pliny in Symmachus . . . and a Tacitus in the person of Ammianus Marcellinus. The author of the *HA* comports himself as the new Suetonius."

Not everyone will be persuaded by all of these conclusions; the author would not expect it. He calls the *HA* a morass. He reminds us that "premature certitudes are to be deprecated. In the long contest bright hopes have been dashed before, confident theories have foundered, with one grave for the bold and the timid." Still the argument that the *HA* is dependent on Ammianus is persuasive and should produce greater confidence in Dessau's date. As for the rest, it is always interesting if not convincing, and the argument is carried forward in Syme's inimitable style.

Cornell University

DONALD KAGAN

GALLA PLACIDIA AUGUSTA: A BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY. By *Stewart Irvin Oost*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 346. \$14.75.)

GALLA Placidia, daughter, half sister, wife, and mother of emperors, is only slightly less fascinating a woman of the late Roman Empire than Justinian's consort Theodora; yet she has never been the subject of a biography in English. Intending to fill that gap in scholarly literature, the author indicates by his choice of subtitle and by discussion in the preface his awareness of the limitations imposed on such a biography by the very fragmentary nature of the ancient sources

dealing with Galla. They require extrapolation to a degree far greater than is the case with the few well-documented personalities of late antiquity.

The author has written what may well become the standard life of Galla Placidia since he has confronted the difficulties inherent in relating her to her historical environment by letting common sense guide his use of the slender evidence. This work is certainly far more modest in its conception, and therefore more convincing, than that of her last biographer, V. A. Sirago, who claimed that she was the pivotal figure of the early fifth century A.D. Oost is surely closer than Sirago to the truth when he states that Galla tried to conserve the Empire for her son, Valentinian III, but that she made no lasting impression on late Roman government and society.

The author writes with a firm command over the ancient sources and the pertinent modern literature, to which he himself has made numerous contributions in journals. He sometimes expresses in this book new or striking viewpoints that merit serious attention, if not always agreement, on many subjects related to his period. To mention only three points: his explanation of the alleged philo-Romanism of Galla's first husband, the Visigoth Athaulf, is surely open to doubt; he is on firmer ground both in suggesting a new interpretation of factional divisions within the senatorial aristocracy supporting, respectively, Valentinian III and the generalissimo Aetius and in attributing to that emperor construction of the so-called "Mausoleum" of Galla Placidia at Ravenna.

For all of the books' original and valuable contributions, its appeal will be limited by its pedestrian literary style, which, while attempting to give Galla a personality, only palely reflects the excitement and drama of her life. Some readers will also find curious the author's occasional use of expressions perhaps more suitable to a religious tract than to a work of scholarship.

Hunter College

WILLIAM G. SINNIGEN

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK: THE TIBURTINE SIBYL IN GREEK DRESS. By *Paul J. Alexander*. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Number 10.] (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University. 1967. Pp. xii, 151. \$6.00.)

THE Greek version of the so-called Tiburtine Sibyl was discovered by the late S. G. Mercati and is here published for the first time together with an English translation and a copious commentary. The content of the text is briefly as follows: the hundred judges of Rome, whoever they may have been, saw a vision of nine suns, which was expounded by the Sibyl as referring to nine generations of men. The first and second generations were to be thoroughly virtuous, the third less so; the fourth was to witness the Incarnation of Christ, the fifth the persecution of Christians by Tiberius and Caligula [*sic*]; the sixth generation was to extend down to the reign of Theodosius I; the seventh was to see the devastation of Rome; the eighth—the prelude to the end of the world—was to begin with the accession of Leo I (457) and last into the reign of Anastasius I. The ninth and last age was to consist of apocalyptic events: the prevalence of vice, terrible wars, the appearance of Antichrist, the Second Coming.

Professor Alexander's views on this text are in the main undoubtedly correct: the original version of the oracle, which was lost, must have been written in the Greek East in a Christian but somewhat heterodox milieu during the reign of Theodosius I (378-390); this was translated into Latin, the first Latin translation also being lost, and gave rise, toward the year 1000, to the existing Latin versions; the Greek original was reworked at Baalbek between the years 502 and 506 to produce the text edited here. It is only on a few points of detail that one is tempted to raise questions that are passed over by Alexander. How is it, for example, that a text composed under Theodosius I, a text especially concerned with religious history, should make no allusion to Julian the Apostate? Why is it that Valens (an Arian), Valentinian and Jovian (Orthodox) are lumped together as being responsible for many persecutions? More important, what is meant by the statement that in the ninth generation the Assyrians will occupy all the lands of the East as far as Chalcedon? The first time anything of the kind happened was during the Persian invasion in the reign of Phocas (602-610). The reference to Chalcedon also occurs in the Latin version, and if it deals with events of the seventh century, then the relation of the Greek and Latin texts as worked out by Alexander must be reconsidered.

Setting aside such minor criticism, we should be grateful to Alexander for having given us a new eschatological document accompanied by a learned commentary. Such texts are by their nature rather baffling, but they tell us much about the mentality, the fears, and the hopes of a given age.

Dumbarton Oaks

CYRIL MANGO

Medieval

ENTSTEHUNG UND VERFASSUNG DES SACHSENSTAMMES. Edited by *Walther Lammers*. [Wege der Forschung, Number 50.] (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1967. Pp. x, 560.)

THIS volume will be a welcome addition to the working libraries of early Germanic historians, especially those who do their research mostly outside of Germany. In form it is a collection of articles, all of which have appeared elsewhere in German periodical literature during the past fifty years. It necessarily represents only a selection of the vast literature that has appeared on the difficult and much-disputed subject of Saxon origins during that time. In nature the book is historiographic. That is, in keeping with the series in which it appears, it deals largely with the history of this particular problem, although each article does more than merely review previous opinions.

Since limitation of space prevents any general discussion of Saxon origins or of the articles included in this book, I shall merely list its contents: Adolf Hofmeister, "Über die älteste Vita Lebuini und die Stammesverfassung der Sachsen" (1916); Friedrich Philippi, "Die Umwandlung der Verhältnisse Sachsens durch die fränkische Eroberung" (1924); Martin Lintzel, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des sächsischen Stammes" (1927); Ludwig Schmidt, "Nochmals zur Sachsenforschung" (1928); Martin Lintzel, "Entgegnung" (1928); Martin Lintzel, "Der

sächsische Stammesstaat und seine Eroberung durch die Franken" (1933); Edward Schröder, "Sachsen und Cherusker" (1933); Ulrich Kahrstedt, "Die politische Geschichte Niedersachsens in der Römerzeit" (1934); Albert Genrich, "Die Entstehung des sächsischen Stammes" (1949); Walter Lammers, "Die Stammesbildung bei den Sachsen" (1957); Jan de Vries, "Einige Bemerkungen zum Sachsenproblem" (1958); Jan de Vries, "Die Ursprungssage der Sachsen" (1959); Richard Drögereit, "Fragen der Sachsenforschung in historischer Sicht" (1959); Anton Hagemann, "Die Stände der Sachsen" (1959); Albert Genrich, "Zur Geschichte der Altsachsen auf dem Kontinent" (1956); Reinhard Wenskus, "Sachsen—Angelsachsen—Thüringer" (1966).

The book also includes a brief but useful introduction by the editor, Walther Lammers, and a splendid bibliography by Hans-Michael Möller.

Temple University

DONALD A. WHITE

ISTORIJA VIZANTII [History of Byzantium]. In three volumes. Edited by S. D. Skazkin *et al.* [Akademii Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1967. Pp. 522; 470; 506.)

THE appearance of these volumes at approximately the same time that the Byzantine sections of the *Cambridge Medieval History* were published may be coincidental. Whether or not the coincidence is present, Skazkin *et al.*—the *et al.* including the best-known of the Soviet Byzantinists: Syuzumov, Kazhdan, Lipshitz, Pigulevskaya, Lazarev—give us a massive, unhurried, thoroughly vetted panoptic view of the results of Soviet Byzantine studies of the latest period. The volumes are advertised as the first complete Soviet history of Byzantium, and as such they must be respected. In fifteen hundred pages the authors examine art, science, literature, and philosophy, as well as the narrative course of the secular history of the Empire; there are frequent illustrations in the Soviet style, which allows extensive retouching, but since many of the plates show the treasures of The Hermitage and other collections, we are likely to be forebearing. There are color plates, which are technically spotty, and good maps. The appendixes include chronologies and a synchronology, stemmata, and an index divided by subject.

The whole has an impressive mass and scholarly texture. The authors are completely at home in the bourgeois historiography of the West, and their footnote citations seem to reconnect Soviet Byzantinology to the scholarly tradition that has been so strongly influenced by tsarist and *émigré* Russian Byzantinists. But, to borrow a Leninist paradox, the more Soviet historical scholarship seems to resemble that of the West, the more different it is.

It is well known that the morphological and causative problems afflicting the non-Marxist Western scholar disappear in the disciplines of Marxist historiography. Since history is a force rather than a collection of epiphenomena, and a force that has been definitively identified and its stages marked off, the Byzantine experience, as presented in these volumes, becomes a clear set of closely fitted patterns that reflect the ineluctable movement from the antique "slaveholding" economic order to the succeeding "feudal" one through the millennium of the

Empire's life. The hardness and clarity of this outline are admirable, as every human experience is drawn into a consistent pattern. The Western scholar, in the confusion of his own historiographical tradition, finds himself examining specimen situations in which the facts, as he knows them, are clear and accurate, and then saying: "yes, but. . ."

For example, since Julian the Apostate was an "archaist" in his philosophic view, was he then absolutely committed to the "interests of the conservative aristocracy" and thus "the independence of the city-state"? (Julian was a complex man and certainly retained an "imperial" political view along with his anachronistic classicism.) Is it completely clear that true class divisions were reflected in the circus factions that rose against Justinian? Was it merely the desire to distract a restive population that drove Justinian to his wars of expansion? (Of course this is so if one accepts the image of a seething, oppressed mass under the crust of imperial authority in the sixth century.) Did the Slavic invasions after the mid-sixth century "aid the opposition of the popular mass" to the imperial yoke, since they were followed by risings in Thrace and elsewhere? (Popular resentment at imperial inability to defend them seems as likely.) And can the Slavs be credited with waging a "war of independence"? (The phrase has a resonance unsuited to the sixth century although, strictly speaking, it is accurate.)

Leo III the Isaurian based his initial success on a correspondence between the central power and the growth of large-scale landholding "and the seignorial methods of exploitation." Iconoclasm was a popular mass movement, with a strong Oriental influence, that Leo used against, among other opponents, the antique idea of civic independence, the old city nobility, and the established church. How is it possible to criticize these conclusions? By remaining unconvinced, I suppose, that the feudal nobility was yet much of a factor in politics, by insisting that Leo's own thrust toward power is somehow left out of the equation, and by asking how popular iconoclasm was. In another area—the re-born Byzantine city of the ninth to the eleventh century—the growth of an artisan class appears as a move toward further feudalization since its productivity supported a feudal regime; by definition the imperial power itself is feudal, willy-nilly, in the feudal economic stage. The artisan class is also feudal or medieval in its essence because its corporations were "free," meaning free of the antique liturgies and the requirement of hereditary membership, even though they were very closely controlled in many other areas.

If the inertial thrust of a developing feudal order stands behind all relationships and all tensions, then the rising of Thomas the Slavonian in the early ninth century is once again considered a popular *Jacquerie*. If the complex chains of causation developed by Western historians to explain the diversion of the Fourth Crusade are "artificial," it is because these historians overlook or underestimate the simple fact of mutual antagonism between West and East; thus, every opponent of Byzantium moved along a straightforward line of force: papal hatred of the schismatic Greeks, Venetian concern for their profits, German ambitions, the greed of the rout of feudal knights were all one. Nothing was unexpected. For that matter, the Latin reaction to the collapse and final

fall of the old Empire merely continued this set and traditional antagonism. When the end came, the Turks, weakly opposed, found allies in the ranks of the Greek feudal nobility, who found the antiprogressivism of the conquerors to their taste while the "heroic war of the peoples of southeast Europe" showed where the seeds of liberty were.

It is unfair to extract a phrase formed out of the flat vocabulary of old Soviet polemic, and it is especially unfair to quote heavily from sections, such as that on the fall of the Empire, which was written by Madame Udaltsova, whom the ungentlemanly might call a party hack. The larger problem is to decide for ourselves what use can be made of historical constructions so firmly attached to a rigid linearism, a pattern of human action closed off from variability and choice, and the distortions induced by the irrational or even the ostensibly rational human personality. The Western historian who wants to use these three volumes can avoid the impasse by converting specific fragments of data or analysis to his own purposes: the thorough discussion of Byzantine contacts with Kievan Rus, for example, or the generally good chapters on Byzantine art, applied arts, and architecture, or insights provided by such scholars as Kazhdan and Syzyumov into city life or rural organization. The utilization of the work of Soviet scholars as a resource, however, or their use of our work in the same fashion, only masks the discontinuity—structural, deductive, and predictive—between a historiographical school and a historiographical tradition or set of persuasions, between the view of history as Real Presence and the view of history as accident.

University of Rochester

D. A. MILLER

STUDIUM GENERALE: STUDIES OFFERED TO ASTRIK L. GABRIEL BY HIS FORMER STUDENTS AT THE MEDIAEVAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ELECTION AS AN HONORARY DOCTOR OF THE AMBROSIANA IN MILAN. Edited by *L. S. Domonkos* and *R. J. Schneider*. [Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, Number 11.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame. 1967. Pp. xxxi, 253. \$9.50.)

THESE studies by former students of Astrik L. Gabriel move, as Gabriel himself has, between the university worlds of Paris and of Eastern Europe. There are seven of them, prefaced by a short biography of Gabriel and by a chronological bibliography of his works.

The first, "The History of the Sigismundean Foundation of the University of Óbuda (Hungary)," by *L. S. Domonkos*, collects what little is known about the extremely short-lived university founded at Óbuda by Sigismund of Hungary in 1395. Almost a quarter of the study is devoted to the university's only representative of note, Benedict of Makra. Domonkos fails, however, to mention the part played by Benedict on the negotiating team that Sigismund sent from England to Paris shortly before the Treaty of Canterbury (see *H. Finke, Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, Volume IV, p. 473). It should be unnecessary to point out that this treaty was concluded in August of 1416, not in June, and that Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was not at Constance.

"John de Martigny, Principal and Benefactor of the College of Burgundy," by Peter A. Ford, and "Jean Pain-et-Chair (c. 1400-1473), Principal of the College of Presles at the University of Paris," by F. Kenneth Jensen, are careful, well-documented biographies, based in large part on unpublished materials, which make a significant contribution to the histories of these two colleges. For some reason Jensen fails to discuss the important role played by Pain-et-Chair in the university's 1456 controversy with the Mendicants or his activities on the university's behalf in 1458, 1461, and 1462 (see Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, Volume V, pp. 603-608, 621, 651, and 655).

"The University Career of Bishop Stephen Bodeker (1384-1459) of Brandenburg," by James J. John, attempts to reconstruct the course of study in the arts and in law pursued by Bodeker up to 1412. The second half of the study contains an edition of Bodeker's repetition on the question of whether a judge should "judge according to what is alleged and proved or according to his conscience." The work of Nörr on this question, which John mentions as in preparation, has since appeared in the *Münchener Universitätschriften, Reihe der Juristischen Fakultät*, Number 2.

In "The Unity of the Mediaeval Intellectual Attitude," Bernard Gendreau paraphrases Étienne Gilson by telling us that "an earnest effort to transform believed truths into known truths is at the bottom of all Christian wisdom throughout the Middle Ages." His essay then explores briefly what faith's search for understanding meant to Bonaventure, Aquinas, Bacon, and Siger of Brabant.

In "The Early Franciscan Studium at the University of Paris," John C. Murphy appropriates, too readily it seems to me, André Callebaut's conjectures locating an ephemeral Franciscan friary on the Rue de la Montagne Sainte-Geneviève prior to the founding of the *Grand Couvent* on the Rue de l'École-de-Médecine in 1230. It is misleading to speak of "souvenirs [of such a friary] collected by Corrozet, Belleforest, Jaillot and others." Corrozet and Jaillot are both dependent on François de Belleforest's *Cosmographie universelle* of 1575, and the same is probably true of other reports of this sort. (Neither Murphy nor Callebaut consulted Belleforest.) The rest of Murphy's study moves on surer ground, outlining the founding and building of the *Grand Couvent* and the oft-told struggles of the friars with the secular masters.

"A 'Mirror for Princes' by Vincent of Beauvais," by Robert J. Schneider, summarizes the contents of Vincent's *De morali principis institutione* (of which Schneider has prepared a critical edition in an as yet unpublished dissertation) and analyzes its sources and its relation to Vincent's other works.

All seven studies do credit to the distinguished scholar to whom they are dedicated.

Columbia University

KENNERLY M. WOODY

IF NOT, NOT: THE OATH OF THE ARAGONESE AND THE LEGENDARY LAWS OF SOBRARBE. By *Ralph E. Giesey*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 277. \$9.50.)

THE ancient Aragonese oath dear to nineteenth-century Spanish liberals as legitimizing contractual democracy ("We who are worth as much as you make you our king, provided you guard our liberties and if not, not") was debunked by Quinto (1848) as a seditious forgery of the French Huguenot Hotman (1573). It survived as a symbolic evocation of medieval libertarianism, or as a mystery naggingly unresolved in its elements. Dismantling and creatively reassembling all the evidence, Giesey focuses "as much upon the legend-making process as upon the content of the legend."

He disproves Quinto's thesis of a forgery based on ninth-century Sobrarbe *fueros* and argues for a culminating error arising, innocently perhaps, from false *fueros* and from the Renaissance fiction of a "Kingdom of Sobrarbe" as the cradle of Aragon. Surveying the literature and mercilessly analyzing the four essential witnesses, especially Blancas, Giesey demonstrates how the Sobrarbe complex coalesced toward the oath. In the process, "generalized versions" of the Privileges of Union (1287) were projected backward into history as a double false *fuero* supporting the justiciar's superiority and the right to depose. The Sobrarbizing of Aragonese history, together with the intellectual atmosphere of Renaissance historiography, created an expanded legend and naturally the oath. The essential problem here is not constitutionalism, the right to resist, or the "Spirit of the Oath," but the peculiar circumstantial text with its Sobraban matrix.

Along the way Giesey runs to earth incidental objections, schematizes trends of argument, and elaborates each mythmaking step. Investigating antecedents or analogues, he suggests that the procuratorial-jurisdictional oath of the infante lent the myth substance and that Eiximenç might serve as precursor for the oath's spirit or wording. He conjectures that the oath surfaced swiftly between 1550 and 1565. The "if not" phrase, probably from Isidore's Visigothic proverb as in the *Fuero Juzgo*, merely furnished an extraneous supportive slogan.

Giesey leans toward closely reasoned bibliographical exegesis, dusty with dead feuds, so that the reader sometimes feels he has fallen into the scaffolding of a Kafkaesque footnote. His fresh style, however, relieves the convolutions of plot with their almost Scholastic complexity. And his wider horizons elevate the whole into a contribution to historiography: the examination of "a genre of historiographical legend-making which was an important part of the intellectual world of the Renaissance." Inevitably someone passionately immersed in the oath problem will challenge the deductive force of a step in some sorites, or query one of Giesey's choices of option and plausible surmise. I confess myself persuaded.

University of San Francisco

ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS, S.J.

HUBERT WALTER, LORD OF CANTERBURY AND LORD OF ENGLAND. By *Charles R. Young*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 196. \$6.00.)

HUBERT WALTER. By *C. R. Cheney*. ([London:] Nelson. 1967. Pp. x, 198. 42s.)

HUBERT Walter's remarkable career began when, as a young man, he served in the household of his great uncle Ranulf Glanvill. He rose rapidly, becoming justiciar, bishop of Salisbury and crusader, archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate, and finally Chancellor under King John. His historical importance demanded book-length study, yet hitherto his career has been touched upon only incidentally by writers whose primary interest lay in institutions rather than in the men who directed them. At last Christopher Cheney of Cambridge University and Charles R. Young of Duke University have filled this biographical void. Cheney is the unchallenged master of twelfth- and thirteenth-century English Church history; no one knows the sources for the ecclesiastical history of England in this period as thoroughly as he does. Young is the author of *The English Borough and Royal Administration, 1130-1307*. Each historian has struggled imaginatively against the acknowledged limitations of his sources, and each has written a first-class book. Cheney's principal concern is ecclesiastical, while Young's biography stresses Hubert's administrative and institutional importance. Thus, while there is unavoidable duplication of content, the two studies are not identical.

Cheney and Young stress the interaction between Hubert and the men, movements, and institutions with which he was associated: the Third Crusade, the Church in Rome and in its British provinces, the administrative institutions that he directed, the kings whom he served, and that troublesome Canterbury chapter. Cheney's style and exposition are more subtle, less pedantic, than Young's. Both men have mined, not to say exhausted, the sources, and I doubt that there is one mouse-nibbled fragment of a charter bearing Hubert's name that they have not examined. (Cheney has utilized a few unprinted sources not used by Young, who did not have the advantage of living where the archives and muniments are located.) The two scholars confront the conflict between Hubert's obligations as head of the Church in England and as senior government administrator; neither succeeds wholly in resolving this symbiosis of offices, nor is either able to tell us what the man Hubert was really like. Each might have drawn some interesting parallels between Hubert's career and those of earlier ecclesiastical statesmen: Lanfranc, Ranulf Flambard, and Roger of Salisbury.

The two biographies are chronologically organized, with some violations of this principle when historical logic so requires. Differences in important matters between the books are few; it is a high compliment to Young that his judgments and conclusions agree in virtually every detail with those of Cheney, who has spent three decades of research and writing in this field. Young's book is somewhat fuller on Hubert's secular career, while Cheney's is stronger on canon law, on the archbishop's Lambeth project, and in being more interested than Young's in motivation and causation (for instance, Young does not consider why and how Hubert came to be Chancellor; Cheney does). Both authors display a slight

tendency to whitewash Hubert's reputation, and neither is wholly successful, particularly in the matter of the archbishop's enthusiastic collecting of wardships, and in the affair of William Fitzosbert. Among the few issues on which the two scholars disagree are the Canterbury fees, where Cheney is correct; Hugh Bardolf's remark to Hubert when the archbishop became Chancellor, rightly interpreted by Young to refer to Becket, not to William Longchamp; and I would agree with Young that it was Becket, not Longchamp, who made the chancellorship a great office. There are several cavils I would have with Young's study. So meticulous a task of research deserves more careful copy editing; while there is only one misprint in the text, a cursory sampling of the apparatus for consistency of form yielded six derangements, one of which makes the source impossible to determine since the author cited (without title) does not appear in the select bibliography. There are a few careless factual slips in the work as well. Young obviously knows that Lionheart had no daughter (William of Scotland's daughter is intended), that Hubert did not live to reconcile the monks of Boxley with the bishop of Rochester, and that Hubert's "active career" did not last from 1184 to 1215, ten years after the archbishop's death. But to flay the few slips and copyreading errors would be pedantic and ungenerous.

Young and Cheney have written definitive studies. They have exhausted the sources, both printed and unprinted, and have not indulged themselves in hypothesis unsupported by evidence. Both biographies are careful, thoughtful, and thorough, and they illuminate the reigns of Richard I and John in important and interesting ways as they were influenced by the genius of Hubert Walter.

University of Georgia

JAMES W. ALEXANDER

MARSILIO. By *Carlo Pincin*. [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, Volume XVII.] (Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1967. Pp. 307. L. 4,000.)

A CENTURY of research on Marsilius and in the last forty years two critical editions of his principal work the *Defensor Pacis* and four annotated translations of it into modern languages have not brought agreement as to his objectives and significance. Perhaps, indeed, the very intensity of the interest in Marsilius has directed attention away from his contemporaries and has made it more difficult to arrive at an accurate appraisal of his thought in its historical context. While late medieval and early modern readers of Marsilius were attracted or repelled by his destructive criticism of the theoretical bases of ecclesiastical power, modern readers have usually been fascinated by his political philosophy and by the apparent anticipations of later ideas in the allegedly secular and positivistic aspects of his thought. Marsilius has been viewed as a prophet of the Reformation, of the modern state, of popular sovereignty, and of an almost Hobbesian concept of the legitimation of law through power rather than morality. Recently there has been a reaction against this approach in such important studies as H. Segall's *Der "Defensor Pacis" des Marsilius von Padua* (1959), E. Lewis' "The 'Positivism' of Marsiglio of Padua" (*Speculum*, XXXVIII [Oct. 1963], 541-82), and N. Rubinstein's "Marsilius of Padua and the Political

Thought of His Time" (in *Europe in the Later Middle Ages* [1965]), all of which tend to minimize Marsilius' uniqueness and to stress his contemporary affinities. Pincin's learned book, however, moves in the opposite direction. Marsilius is presented as the first "frank" advocate of the nonfeudal, bourgeois state, as the theorist of the new kingdoms rather than of the already declining communes (a surprising assertion, in view of Pincin's belief that Marsilius is an advocate of popular government), as the reviver of antique political thought, and as the writer of the "first organic treatise" of political science inspired by an Averroist rather than a Christian reading of Aristotle. Marsilius, according to Pincin, is detached from the problems of his own time, though he handles them ably in the controversial portions of his works. His purpose is not didactic, and his chief originality consists in a scientific approach to political and historical problems.

This appraisal of Marsilius' importance makes the lengthy historical and documentary portions of Pincin's book seem curiously peripheral. He believes, for example, that Marsilius was little influenced by the Franciscans. Why, then, is a long section devoted to their theories? He discusses in detail Marsilius' role as imperial advocate. But this is irrelevant to his main thesis: Marsilius as theorist of the bourgeois state. Indeed, the wide historical scope of the book effectively underlines its ideological narrowness. But it offers a provocative discussion of important facets of Marsilius' thought, and the richness of its historical and bibliographical information and of its documentary appendixes makes it a useful contribution to the vast corpus of Marsilian commentary.

Tulane University

CHARLES T. DAVIS

THE AGE OF ADVERSITY: THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Robert E. Lerner*. [The Development of Western Civilization: Narrative Essays in the History of Our Tradition from Its Origins in Ancient Israel and Greece to the Present.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 133. \$1.75.)

NICELY titled *The Age of Adversity*, Mr. Lerner's little book on the fourteenth century is divided into three parts: "The Catastrophe," on demography and economics; "The Struggle," on political institutions; and "The Triumph," on intellectual and religious matters. The book reads easily, and there are some very attractive pages, particularly those in the last part dealing with Marsilius and the heretics of the Free Spirit. I object, however, to the author's insouciance about society. To him, the catastrophe was induced by demographic, climatic, and medical factors. The facts that people have something to do with the number of children they engender and that economic crises have much to do with the system of ownership and distribution seem altogether neglected. Perhaps that otherwise damnable New Left that bedevils us today will help future Lerner's to think about these problems again. On the other hand, Lerner's second chapter on political organization may well gratify the intolerable self-righteousness of this constituency. There, political figures and even institutions are treated as "competent" or "incompetent" or even as "good" or "bad." One would never

learn from the author's stern moralizations that the Pope who was condemned and deposed by the fathers at Constance was quietly rehabilitated by his brethren of the sacred college when the storm had passed.

Perhaps Lerner would do well to turn back to that old *barbatus* of the "Old Left," who, in the introduction to the first edition of his *Capital*, apologizes for painting the landlord and the capitalist "in no sense *couleur de rose*" in the following famous passage: "My standpoint, from which the evolution . . . of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains. . . ." That is good doctrine for historians to apply to the history of all men of all classes and all times. One is left with the horrid suspicion, furthermore, that, when all is said and done, terms like "competent" and "incompetent" really boil down to meaning "he won" or "he lost." And somehow, though it may be merely my vestigial Christianity, I feel for unsuccessful men.

Columbia University

JOHN H. MUNDY

LATER MEDIEVAL FRANCE: THE POLITY. By P. S. Lewis. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 418. \$11.00.)

CHRISTINE de Pisan's opinion that princes, knights, nobles, and all people should be in a single polity, as parts of a living body, is the theme of this examination of politics and society in late medieval France. The description and analysis of life, government, and classes that follow prepare us in some measure for the conclusion that the political crisis during the Hundred Years' War was caused by the persistent threat of an alternative dynasty. While this threat underlay the political, military, and diplomatic behavior of the period, the fundamental weakness of the French king, which was his inability to tax the population through a general assembly, antedated the Valois era and placed him in sharp contrast with his English contemporary. In brief, France was not united before the war, and the conflict only aggravated this defect. Attempts of the king to unite the country were considered aggression in many circumstances, and this royal ineffectiveness created the "tyranny" of the early fifteenth century that was resolved only by military victory and the absolutism of Louis XI, if by absolutism in this case we mean true monarchy. Even with victory, the legacy of internecine hatred produced by the war and a crisis of control and confidence persisted to the end of Louis's reign, and perhaps to the end of the century.

These conclusions stand at the end of four large chapters with some sixty titled but unnumbered subsections. From the first chapter, "Some Conditions of Life," the sense of diffuse organization and treatment recurs. The chronological scheme is vague, and coverage is incomplete. The political significance of and the role of personnel in the *Chambre des comptes* is covered at some length, the Parlement and *Conseil* receive lessening emphasis, and the chancery is mysteriously omitted. Assessments are often misleading, as when Lewis tells us that the stability of civil servants in office, meaning longevity of service, was remarkable by the fifteenth century. The reader may not realize that it was just as remarkable in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At the same time, the book

offers valuable and informative sections, such as those on kings and nobles, and, especially, that on representative institutions. It is a courageous attempt at a synthesis of the published sources, the vast secondary work, and a few manuscript materials, but the author's stated intention to select does not make less visible the gaps in the work, especially since several parts are noticeably unnecessary to the major theme.

Finally, as the work of a well-informed scholar, this book is marred by mechanical defects and a proclivity to rhetoric and wordiness. There is an annoying absence of system in the footnotes. A deluge of words and information frequently overwhelms and obscures the book's theme and purpose. And to the baroque sentences that occur too often, it is best to apply the author's own words: "it would probably be unwise overmuch to try to disentangle them."

Ohio State University

FRANKLIN J. PEGUES

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE HISTORY. Volume V.

Edited by William M. Bowsky. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1968. Pp. 275. \$7.95.)

THE present volume contains four studies: Marion F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237"; Josef Soudek, "Leonardi Bruni and His Public: A Statistical and Interpretative Study of His Annotated Latin Version of the (Pseudo-) Aristotelian *Economics*"; Gottfried G. Krodel, "State and Church in Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1524-26"; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy: The Case of Lyon."

Facinger's article brings together and consolidates what is known of the Capetian kingship through 1237. An essential change occurs during the twelfth century as the queen, in the context of growing bureaucratization, ceases to be an active member of Luchaire's "Capetian Trinity" and becomes simply the wife or mother of the king.

Soudek's study is original both in its findings and in its method. The author starts from a full catalogue of all known manuscripts of Leonardo Bruni's annotated version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics*. He first uses this evidence to determine the dissemination of Bruni's *Economics*. In a general comparison it ranks below the *Voyage* of Sir John Mandeville, but, in number of fifteenth-century manuscripts, it probably exceeds the popular English chronicle *Brut* and certainly exceeds Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. More specifically, Soudek shows that by the end of the fifteenth century the Bruni version had clearly outdistanced the medieval translations of the *Economics*. Secondly, Soudek examines the manuscripts for the information they provide about the social position of the readers. Using a wealth of detail, he shows Bruni's work to have been of great interest not only to rulers, members of the aristocracy, merchant princes, and humanists but also to the regular and secular clergy of all ranks. Only the Aristotelians of the universities appeared reluctant to accept the new translation, and by the end of the century even they had been won over.

Soudek acknowledges his indebtedness to P. O. Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*, and his study demonstrates the value of such new tools for research. One hopes

that other medieval and Renaissance scholars will follow Soudek's lead in supplementing the history of ideas as such with detailed analyses of their modes of being in society.

In the third article, Krodel considers the ecclesiastico-political developments in the margraviate Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach under Margrave Casimir from 1524 to 1526. Along with a narrative account, he offers useful summaries of a number of little-known statements of the evangelical position. The article is equipped with a wealth of excursuses; some are very loosely connected with the text, while others, such as the third and the fifth, contain material that might more usefully have been incorporated into the body of the article.

The volume concludes with the essay of Natalie Zemon Davis on the reform of poor relief at Lyons in the 1530's. There were at the time some few Catholic voices that linked the reforms with Lutheran heresy; these voices have achieved full resonance in the modern historical tradition of the Protestant work ethic. The author shows that what happened at Lyons is rather to be understood against the background of a general change in European religious sensibility, a change that transcended the differences between Catholic and Protestant. In response to the urban crisis, businessmen and lawyers also took account of their own vocational experience. Finally, the humanists were actively engaged in the reforms and successfully utilized the insights of an Erasmian Christianity. These generalizations are vividly and sympathetically illustrated through a detailed account of the establishment of the *Aumône-Générale* of Lyons.

Volume V of these *Studies* shows once more the usefulness of a publication designed particularly "to accommodate the longer study whose compass is too large for it to be included regularly in existing media but too small for it to appear in book form."

Connecticut College

F. EDWARD CRANZ

Modern Europe

WISSENSCHAFT IN KOMMUNISTISCHEN LÄNDERN. Edited by *Dietrich Geyer*. (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag Hermann Leins. 1967. Pp. 309.)

THE introduction notes that this volume is based on a lecture series held at Tübingen in 1966-1967, a series that found a certain "resonance" even beyond academic circles and thus encouraged the editor and the publisher to present the papers to a wider audience. These two factors—origin in a lecture series and the desire to make the conclusions available to more readers—have undoubtedly aided in keeping the style relatively uncluttered by German scholastic jargon and in reducing the extent of complicated argumentation. To this extent the twelve papers included here, ranging over such fields as philosophy, sociology, literature, pedagogy, legal thought, and history, can be most useful to readers who wish a compact, general survey of the extent to which, as Dietrich Geyer notes in his introduction, Communist scholarship in the humanities and social sciences after a long period of dogmatic torpidity is undergoing a trend toward

internationalization, tardy and limited though that may be when compared to the similar process in the natural and applied sciences. And those who wish to go beyond the information contained in these papers will find that the footnotes serve as useful guides.

In many instances, however, one may raise the unspoken objection that there is a certain schematization of thought, as is often the case when a lecturer presses too hastily toward his conclusions at the expense of leaving some raveled edges in the fabric of his argument. More particularly, it is difficult, after such events as the Pavel Litvinov-Larisa Daniel trial and the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, to be confident that the process of "a toilsome, slow, at least partial loosening of the chains of this [Marxist-Leninist] ideology" is as visible as Klaus Westen's essay on Soviet legal thought would suggest.

Furthermore, the attention of the writers is principally concentrated on the situation in the Soviet Union and in East Germany, though it must be noted that Peter Ludz's survey of sociology contains much of interest on Poland, which has far outstripped other Eastern bloc countries in this field.

Despite these demurrals, this volume is a modest success and is likely to be useful to the scholar seeking a survey of fields other than his own or to the graduate student seeking some initial understanding of Communist patterns of intellectual life.

Library of Congress

ROBERT V. ALLEN

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN EUROPE BEFORE 1800.

By *C. T. Smith*. [Praeger Advanced Geographies.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xviii, 604. \$13.00.)

WHILE definitions of historical geography may vary, Professor Smith of Cambridge University prefers to discuss "the periods and processes of geographical change of active settlement and colonization of urban foundation and growth, of industrial and commercial change, that stimulate most interest and that have been most significant in the formation of the landscape." He is interested in the factors that favor the concentration and cause the dispersal of people in rural and urban communities.

It is not always clear how the historical geographer differs from the economic historian, but it may be that the former emphasizes natural resources, features, and locations and their influence upon historical development, while the economic historian prefers to look upon man's use of those natural resources and phenomena and the extent to which man has aided in the process of economic change. Suffice it to write that this is a good book for the historical geographer and the economic historian. It is not easily read because it is replete with conclusions on many topics, and these conclusions are presented with data from numerous disciplines from all of Western Europe. The book may not be easy reading, but it is informative and convincing.

After a compact résumé of the prehistoric era, Smith attends to the classical world. In contrast to many authors he does not accept geographical fragmentation as basic to the isolation of the Greek city-states. He offers the

traditional view of Greek colonization and at length discusses the origins and structure of Roman towns and the expansion of the Roman world westward and northward. He finds the Middle Ages all-important for the geography of language, the location of rural settlements, and the origin of most modern cities. In a moving chapter the author establishes the people of Western Europe, the Germans, Arabs, Scandinavians, and Slavs. The sections on the Germans and Scandinavians seem most impressive, but at all times the author's use of language to exemplify his case is striking. The number of Germans in the Empire before 378 was probably greater than he indicates. The author makes it clear that few general statements on agrarian settlements and field systems have validity. Climate, soil, terrain, and rainfall influenced such items as the plow, field systems, crops, relative amounts of cultivated and pasture land, and the number of cattle, and some of these in turn influenced the concentration and dispersal of people. In addition functional factors such as defense, authority of the manorial lord, economy of time, and proximity of roads dictated the location and type of rural settlement. No single factor except possibly military defense was solely causal. Nucleated villages, hamlets, and dispersed settlements had varied origins.

On questions about the origin and location of medieval towns the author is similarly cautious. The influence of Roman origins is related to the extent of earlier Romanization. He accepts the revised Pirenne thesis on trade and towns, but argues that the expansion of trade and the concentration of mercantile communities must have had a concomitant increase and concentration of agricultural products. In view of the author's emphasis on agriculture, it is surprising that he does not refer to agrarian profit and surpluses as an early source of capital for commercial investment. Military defense provided by private castles and city walls was as pertinent for town development as it was for agrarian settlement. In the early modern period the largest towns were along the Atlantic littoral, and they were promoted in their development by greater industrialization, a higher standard of living, national direction, and urban planning. It is from there that overseas expansion started, though the capital for the expeditions came from other centers as well. In turn these towns and their national states gained economically while the earlier Mediterranean port towns declined.

At the end of the volume the author returns to a favorite theme, the relationship of rural and urban concentration. Earlier he indicated the need of concentrated agrarian produce for urban settlement. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the growing industrialization and urbanization needed a greater agrarian production through new procedures and methods, often resulting from new capital investment coming from affluent and aggressive townspeople.

This volume is a compactly written survey of the interplay of geographical phenomena and historical developments and the close relationship between rural and urban economies. If a choice is to be made, the chapters on agriculture seem more informative and provocative, but both presentations are admirable. The aerial photographs of towns and countryside are excellent, and the figures and graphs are lucid, though some legends seem microscopic for older eyes.

University of Cincinnati

HILMAR C. KRUEGER

"AUSLÄNDER" IN BRANDENBURG-PREUSSEN: ALS LEITENDE BEAMTE UND OFFIZIERE 1604-1871. By *Ernst Oppenoorth*. [Beihefte zum Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität, Königsberg/Pr., Number 28.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1967. Pp. 100. DM 7.50.)

THE fascination with careers pursued outside the land of birth encompasses the lives of Prince Eugene, Metternich, and Bruck in the Habsburg monarchy, Rumford in Bavaria, or Georg Forster in electoral Mainz, together with such intricacies as the Duke of Brunswick's leadership of the Prussian invaders in 1792 instead of the French defenders. Disclaiming Droysen's assertion of a "German mission for Prussia" but fascinated by Prussia's relation to other German territories, the author of this slight but informative monograph describes ties to other lands through some fifty-six outsiders who served Brandenburg-Prussia as leading officials or officers from 1604 to 1871, from Schlick and Waldeck through Stein and Scharnhorst to Radowitz and Moltke. Compiled from biographies and other scholarly works, biographical encyclopedias, and some published documents, the account seeks to illustrate the outlook of those appointed and the purposes of rulers and governments in *Personalpolitik*. It notes sectarian policies in the seventeenth century, the personal influence of the Great Elector in gaining high nobles, officers, and jurists, and Frederick William I's changed "style" with "bourgeois" court and reduced recruitment abroad. A survey of Frederick II's "style" suggests enduring consequences, as with the Great Elector.

Although the author emphasizes the diminished importance of "foreigners" in the nineteenth century, he sketches Motz, Wittgenstein, and others. He does not mention Bismarck's complaint that the diplomatic service preferred foreigners to Prussians. Nor does he seek to indicate the comparative drawing power of Prussia or the number, proportion, or importance of outsiders at any time. Focusing for unexamined reasons on administrators, he disregards such participants in Prussian affairs as Pufendorf or Euler, Maupertuis or Hegel. Nor are his criteria for the choice of "leading" officials clear: Lucchesini but not Niebuhr. The four-and-one-half-page bibliography with only one title not in German does not even list F. L. Carsten, G. A. Craig, or H. Rosenberg. The *Göttinger Arbeitskreis* commemorates the University of Königsberg, but it is not the model of Kant exemplified here.

University of Washington

D. E. EMERSON

LE RELAZIONI TRA LO STATO PONTIFICIO E LA FRANCIA RIVOLUZIONARIA: STORIA DIPLOMATICA DEL TRATTATO DI TOLENTINO. Parts 1 and 2. By *Giustino Filippone*. [Istituto di Studi Storico-Politici Università di Roma, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Numbers 5 and 17.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1961; 1967. Pp. xi, 318; 729. L. 1,800; L. 6,000.)

GIUSTINO Filippone has now completed, with this second volume, his long and learned analysis of the nine months of diplomatic negotiations between France and the papacy that culminated in the Treaty of Tolentino, which was signed on

February 19, 1797, by the French ambassador to Rome, François Cacault, and General Bonaparte for France, and by four representatives of Pope Pius VI.

In an excellent introduction to the first part of this study, which appeared in 1961, Filippone contends that Tolentino was not merely the marginal episode one might at first suppose. It reflected a significant change in the principles and methods of French foreign policy, especially with reference to the papacy. It marked an important stage in the papacy's emergence from the position of political and spiritual tutelage that it had suffered during the era of the Enlightenment (as the destruction of the Jesuits, particularly, bore witness). In respect to Church and state in France, it provided a milestone on the road from the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 1790 to the concordat of 1801. In his book Filippone has shown how these larger issues intersected at Tolentino, as a result, in particular, of the contribution of Napoleon. Napoleon recognized the need for a dialogue with the Church and for preserving at least a part of its temporal power, whereas France's Directory saw only the papacy's weakness, and this dialogue led toward the concordatory conception of the relation between Church and state.

He has written this book not only because of the seriousness of these larger issues but also because Tolentino has been neglected by recent scholars. The diplomatic history of the period, from Albert Sorel to Madelin and Leflon, still depends on the work of J. Du Teil (*Rome, Naples et le Directoire, armistices et traités, 1796-1797*), which came out in 1902 and which made use of French Foreign Ministry archives, but neglected those of the Vatican. Filippone has used not only the French sources, printed and archival; he has also used those of the Vatican very extensively; the manuscript holdings of the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid, particularly those manuscripts left by the Spanish diplomat Azara; the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv at Vienna. He has, moreover, brought to bear upon these materials a rich knowledge of revolutionary France and Italy deriving from a wide range of French and Italian scholars, both ecclesiastical and secular: among them, Sorel, Guyot, and Ferrero; Debidour, Pisani, and Leflon; Bourgin, Mathiez, and Godechot; Candeloro, Dal Pane, De Felice, Piscitelli, and Franchetti. He has used recent social history very effectively to illuminate the psychological pressures impelling his actors.

At the heart of his analysis is a complex, detailed, highly nuanced explanation of Bonaparte's success in achieving an agreement with the papacy where the Directory had failed earlier. The Pope, an honest man but without profound convictions, was torn between conflicting considerations as to how the papacy should respond to the dangerous challenge embodied in the French revolutionaries' invasion of Italy, and between the rival counsels of "Holy Warriors" and "neutralists," but he was drawn toward a policy of accommodation with the French by his distrust of the Coalition powers and his desire to avoid subordination to them in the holy war against revolutionary France that they were urging him to proclaim; by his family connections with progressive commercial and financial circles in Italy, who were eager to appease and to use the invader in reforming the theocratic Papal State; by his fear of social anarchy on the part of the masses, which were impelled toward violence against the French oppressor by a mixture of social grievances and religious faith; and by the temptation to

preserve the temporal interests of the papacy even at the expense of its spiritual independence and authority. The Directory was doctrinaire and radical in its attitude toward Rome. It regarded Catholicism as simply the relic of a superstitious past; it saw only the papacy's temporal weakness and no reason therefore to reach a settlement with it; and it was consequently blind to the opportunities offered by a papacy prepared to make more concessions than it should. Napoleon, in contrast, like Robespierre earlier, saw the possibility of exploiting the religious phenomenon as an instrument of rule. He saw the emotive strength of religion which, if controlled through agreement with the papacy, could countervail the more irrational and subversive forces of social anarchy and win support for the French from the new plutocracy, thereby protecting his own military position in Italy. He was therefore prepared, as the Directory was not, to temper his severe temporal demands on the papacy by a willingness to respect its spiritual integrity, both of which are reflected in the terms of Tolentino.

This is an explanation that, in its sympathy for Napoleon and its emphasis upon his increasing independence of the Directory, is closer to Sorel than it is to Guyot or Ferrero, but it is Sorel carefully shaded and more persuasively argued. And the book as a whole is very impressive because of the remarkable extent of its documentation, the painstaking quality of its analysis, and its concern for reconstructing the psychological situation of each of its major characters.

So rich in its substance, it is at the same time difficult to use because of its defects in form. The original volume (1961) is a preparatory essay, a good introduction to the topic, but it is incomplete, treating only the first few weeks of the negotiations and ending with Bonaparte's conversation with the Spanish intermediary, Azara, on June 7. The new volume (1967) is less a sequel than an independent work that incorporates in new ways the materials of Volume I into its own larger whole. It is a better book, more intelligently organized, more fully annotated, and based on a much wider range of documentation, most of it manuscript. But it demands too much of the reader through its failure to provide a perspective. Unlike the earlier volume, it offers no preliminary indication of theme and no discussion of the literature on Tolentino and the sources. There are thirty-three documents published as an appendix, but without explanation, and the only cross references between them and the text are buried in the notes. Moreover, and above all, there is no conclusion of any kind. It is a great pity that Filippone should ask so much of his readers, for he deserves to be read.

University of Washington

SCOTT LYTLE

ALLIANCES AND SMALL POWERS. By *Robert L. Rothstein*. [Institute of War and Peace Studies of the School of International Affairs of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 331. \$10.00.)

THIS is an odd book. Mr. Rothstein begins by telling us that he "is concerned with establishing one central proposition: that Small Powers are something more than or different from Great Powers writ small." But he then proceeds to arrive at a definition of "Small Power" that can fit any state that ever existed, with the

possible (but only possible) exceptions of the present-day US and USSR. The imprecision of this definition is not a serious problem so long as Rothstein remains with the burden of his task: a description, with accompanying chapters of extended analytical comment, of the behavior of (undeniably) "Small Powers" in the European international system from 1815 to 1939. His last ninety pages, however, are given over to long chapters on "Alignment, Nonalignment, and Small Powers: 1945-1965" and "Nuclear Proliferation and the Prospects for Small Powers" (the greater part of each previously appeared as journal articles). These chapters contain some interesting observations, but their relevance to the rest of the book is not apparent, and the absence of a usefully restricting definition of "Small Power" leads to some particularly unclear passages; the chapter on nuclear proliferation, for example, suddenly introduces the term "weak Great Power" as meaning yet something else that is undefined.

Rothstein should have resisted the temptation to tack on these articles because the rest of the book (his reworked dissertation) contains much of interest. Of particular value are two long case studies: one on the relationship between Belgium and France in the period 1919-1936, an alliance of a "Small" with a "Great Power," the other on the Little Entente, an alliance of "Small Powers." In both Rothstein focuses sharply on the question of the costs and benefits of the alliances to each member. For this purpose, and indeed for a general discussion of either set of relationships, no better studies exist. Also suggestive, but less useful because more sketchily set down, are three relatively brief chapters on the roles of "Small Powers" in European international politics in three periods: 1815-1854 (the "Classical Period"), 1854-1914 (the "Disruption of the Old System"), and 1919-1939 (the interwar years). Here, and in the two case studies, Rothstein goes far toward making the case for his opening contention. A particular virtue of his longish examination of the Franco-Belgian and Little Entente cases is that they are sufficiently detailed so as to get at the actions and motivations of specific statesmen. Throughout the rest of his book there is too much reification, the tendency to regard states as monolithic actors, which leads to a number of pontifical but nevertheless unsupported ex-cathedra (Rothstein calls them "theoretical") statements. Many are worth making, but the reader must take their validity rather too much on faith.

Princeton University

RICHARD H. ULLMAN

BISMARCKS "DRAHT NACH RUSSLAND": ZUM PROBLEM DER SOZIAL-ÖKONOMISCHEN HINTERGRÜNDE DER RUSSISCH-DEUTSCHEN ENTFREMDUNG IM ZEITRAUM VON 1878 BIS 1891.

By *Sigrid Kumpf-Korfes*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Geschichte. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 16.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1968. Pp. xvii, 219. DM 30.)

ON the basis of East German and Russian archival materials Professor Kumpf-Korfes offers a Marxian interpretation of the German-Russian estrangement of 1878-1891. Charging that historians of diplomacy have never given us a true

picture of the basis for Bismarck's foreign policy, he asserts that valid understanding can be obtained only by examining socioeconomic factors. While he occasionally, and skillfully, enters the realm of traditional diplomatic history, such labors are offset by his economic determinism, an approach that leaves much to be desired.

The author first considers the 1860's and 1870's, attempting to show that the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1881 was based on economic motivation. Although initially a sound economic and social relationship existed between Germany and Russia, a world-wide agrarian and commercial crisis in 1875 produced a successful demand by Russian bourgeois and agrarian classes for high protective import tariffs on industrial and agricultural products. In 1879 German counteraction against Russia brought about an alliance between the *Junkers* and German business classes. In spite of the resultant German-Russian socioeconomic tensions Bismarck obtained Russian consent to the 1881 alliance through men holding key positions in the Russian government, especially Giers and Shuvalov, both extreme monarchists who would not deal with Republican France. The Tsar sided with reactionary court circles, St. Petersburg bankers and financiers, and members of the conservative bourgeoisie and landholding classes. Agrarian and business groups, seeking to avoid any new measures by the German government against Russian grain imports, accepted the idea of a political arrangement to placate Germany.

In so far as Bismarck was concerned, the alliance between the three strongest European monarchies would assure the domination of *Junkers* in Prussia, the mastery of Prussia in Germany, and the maintenance of the socioeconomic order. The political tie with Russia catered to the commercial interests of the German middle class, who saw, in good political relations, further insurance for continued exploitation of Russian markets.

The Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 was put through in Russia by pro-German circles in spite of growing animosity between the bourgeois and agrarian classes of both states, but, says Kumpf-Korfes, the dominant forces "could not influence the course of history," and a Russian-French accord was delayed for only a few years. Bismarck's subsequent prohibition of German export capital was aimed at satisfying the *Junkers* and the bourgeoisie, who hoped such measures would force a reduction in Russian customs fees. Bismarck's policies eventually turned Russian landholders and banking and trading circles toward a Russian-French alliance, facilitated by successful financial arrangements, that was only "the logical conclusion" of a set of socioeconomic demands.

Quite aside from the trite Marxist style in which this book is written, the author, for all his pains, does not convince me that governments were decisively influenced by class demands in making foreign policy decisions. For all the animosity between Russian and German bourgeois and agrarians the fact still remains that Russia would gladly have renewed the Reinsurance Treaty in 1890, had William II been willing. Although France had been courting Russia through the Paris Bourse, a firm alliance was not to emerge in 1891, as Kumpf-Korfes asserts. That came in 1894 and then only after assiduous application by the Quai d'Orsay, and with a political purpose and political particulars.

University of Kentucky

GERARD E. SILBERSTEIN

FINLAND, GERMANY, AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1940-1941: THE PETSAMO DISPUTE. By H. Peter Krosby. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 276. \$6.75.)

HISTORIANS are by no means agreed on what alternatives faced Finnish foreign policy makers during the fifteen months between the Winter War and the second Fenno-Soviet conflict. Defeated, bitterly anti-Soviet, subjected to alarming Russian demands, and witnesses to Moscow's extinction of Estonian independence, the Finns at best had two alternatives. The less palatable choice, advocated by Juho Paasikivi, was to cling to neutrality, seek alignment with Sweden, retain British good will, and appease the Soviets. The second choice, that chosen by Witting, Ryti, and their associates, was to draw German power into the balance, first by exchanging transit rights and Petsamo nickel for food and arms and later by joining with the Third *Reich* in the attack upon Russia. Anthony Upton maintains that those responsible for this fateful policy made an "appalling mistake"; most Western and Finnish historians, however, hold that, given the 1940-1941 situation, Finland's gravitation toward Germany was unavoidable. H. Peter Krosby here comes down on the latter side of the controversy.

But Krosby's purpose is less to review the whole complex story than to illuminate the place of Petsamo in the emerging Fenno-German accommodation. Even before the war I. G. Farbenindustrie had expressed interest in Petsamo's nickel ores; once the struggle began Berlin sought and secured a Finnish commitment to deliver over half of the Petsamo production. How this contributed to the inclusion of Finland in German strategic planning—initially without Finnish understanding—is one side of the coin. The other concerns British efforts through International Nickel to obstruct German access to the ores and Soviet demands for joint control over Petsamo once the Germans arrived in northern Norway. How Helsinki ignored London, put off Moscow, and increasingly collaborated with Berlin is here explained.

The first volume in English on the subject, this work relies heavily on German sources, as it must in view of the nonavailability of Soviet and Finnish documents. Use has also been made of interviews with German and Finnish participants, though former officials of Hitler's *Reich* are not distinguished for accurate memories and Finns seldom indulge in complete candor concerning this still-sensitive period. Defenders of Paasikivi will disagree with his being portrayed as out of touch and overwhelmed by despondency in opposing Witting's pro-German policy; it is just conceivable that Paasikivi's bleak recommendations might have steered Finland around the reef of 1944. These comments aside, the study is properly described as a substantial and detailed treatment of the Petsamo issue.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

L'ARMÉE ROUGE ASSASSINÉE: 22 JUIN 1941. By *Alexandre Nekrich*. Translated from the Russian by *Marie Bennigsen*. Preface by *Georges Haupt*. (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset. 1968. Pp. 314. 22 fr.)
 "JUNE 22, 1941": SOVIET HISTORIANS AND THE GERMAN INVASION. By *Vladimir Petrov*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. 322. \$5.95.)

In a characteristic but humanly and professionally sad turn of political fortunes, many relatively valuable and objective historical studies published in the Soviet Union in the early 1960's were withdrawn and condemned when, after several false starts, the "die-hards" succeeded in 1967-1968 in making a partial comeback in Soviet arts, letters, and historiography. Most revealing is the fate of *1941-22 iunia*, a courageous but circumspect and thoroughly researched study of the antecedents of the German invasion by Aleksandr Nekrich, a promising historian who was until recently a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Making excellent—and, under Soviet conditions, unusual—use of foreign sources, Soviet memoirs, and personal interviews, Nekrich pieced together a document that damns above all Stalin himself and, to a lesser extent, implicates his obedient servants for, first, purging the high command; then, failing to prepare the country for war; further, naïvely dealing with Hitler while mistrusting Western moves and signals; and, finally, blindly refusing to take seriously the avalanche of warnings, from a variety of sources, of the imminent Nazi attack.

For a study published in 1965 in fifty thousand copies, this was a remarkable, though still not uninhibited, venture across many taboos into a terrain full of political booby traps. After a period of "silent treatment," the book and its author became the targets of a bitter attack by "re-Stalinizers," scared bureaucrats who saw the party's authority threatened, self-serving generals, and Muscovite "Maoists" of various hues. The upshot, in 1967, was a vicious public blast against the volume, which was reminiscent of the Stalin era in diatribe and distortion, and the author's expulsion from the Communist party. But it is indicative of the twilight in which Soviet politics and education operate that there was a meeting of scholars, politicians, and military men at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at which most speakers defended Nekrich and even raised further "embarrassing" questions and that the protocol of that meeting (in several somewhat varying but mutually reinforcing versions) was published abroad.

The two volumes reviewed here contain essentially the same material: translations of the entire Nekrich book and of the major documents in the polemics of 1966-1967. The English-language version, with explanatory material by Vladimir Petrov, is somewhat more detailed but also more partisan in its commentary. It provides more background on the events of 1937-1941 for the uninformed reader. The French edition, with a competent and restrained introduction by Georges Haupt, includes some reactions of Western (for example, Austrian and Italian) Communists and a fascinating letter from a Soviet intellectual commenting on the "Nekrich affair." Both volumes have technical shortcomings, such as mistranslations and errors in transliteration. Neither, perhaps wisely, attempts much "kremmlinological" speculation about the alignments in Moscow responsible

for the shift in "line" and the continuing resistance to it. The debate meanwhile continues, both in and out of Soviet journals.

Even with all the lacunae in the available evidence, the book provides not only interesting material for the historian of the Second World War, but, in its subsequent fate, a fascinating case study of the seemingly perennial but frequently ambiguous confrontation of courageous scholarship and repressive authority.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

SCHICKSALSSTUNDEN IN ROM: ENDE EINES BÜNDNISSES. By *Friedrich-Karl von Plehwe*. With an epilogue by *Gustav René Hocke*. (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag. 1967. Pp. 316. DM 19.80.)

FROM late 1940 until September 1943 Von Plehwe was first general staff officer (Ia) on the staff of Von Rintelen, German military attaché in Italy. This book, presented some twenty-four years later, is a mixture of two elements: in part it is autobiographical recollection aided by some diaries and other contemporary documents successfully hidden; in part it is based on research undertaken much later, after Von Plehwe had gained his degree at Göttingen in 1949. The initial experiences and observations were not broad enough to give a comprehensive picture of the events described, and the subsequent investigation has colored the memory and has itself not been extensive enough to give the whole story.

Von Plehwe's aim is to refute the cheap German accusation that Italy betrayed its Nazi ally by making the armistice with the Western Powers without Germany's knowledge. Undoubtedly Badoglio's purpose in the first week or so after July 25 was to persuade Hitler of Italy's need to withdraw from the war and to convince the German leadership that it would be the better course for both Axis Powers to seek agreement with the West. This is not new, but Von Plehwe presents much corroborative detail, particularly regarding Rintelen's mission to Hitler's headquarters on August 2. At the second or third level on which the author operated, the idea of ending the war in 1943 (which Italians mentioned to their German colleagues) appeared attractive. It was too bad that Hitler was not a reasonable man, but was not Badoglio foolish in expecting him to act like one?

Von Plehwe nicely describes the moral repugnance felt by Rintelen and the ambassador, Von Mackensen, at the measures ordered by Hitler for the forcible seizure of the Italian King and Badoglio by General Student. Badoglio was pulled this way and that by his subordinates, and it is very incomplete to explain the dealings with the Allies as essentially a response to Germany's actions. The latter part of the book is based on very skimpy research—an almost complete ignorance of American and British materials. The assertions that the Allies did not honor their assurances to the Italians and that they announced the armistice several days in advance of the agreed date may have appeared plausible in Italy in 1945, but they are rather shocking at this late date.

Department of State

HOWARD M. SMYTH

DOCUMENTS ON POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1939-1945. Volume II, 1943-1945. [General Sikorski Historical Institute.] (London: Heinemann. 1967. Pp. lvi, 866. 105s.)

This carefully edited volume documents the tragedy of Poland from May 1943—shortly after the Soviet Union severed its relations with the Polish government-in-exile—to August 1945. Although some of these documents can be found in other collections, most come from Polish sources and appear here for the first time. The volume contains diplomatic correspondence, many valuable documents on the activities and plans of the Polish underground, and many others on the Soviet Union's betrayal of the underground and take-over of the country. The documents, organized in chronological fashion and accompanied by extensive notes, provide a very full picture of what happened to Poland.

Publication of these documents will not change the standard interpretation of an already well-known story. It will, however, make more vivid and understandable the agonizing dilemmas and frustrations of a people and a government-in-exile caught in a clash of forces over which they had no control. Prime Minister Mikolajczyk and his cabinet were accused by their allies of obstinacy, a lack of realism, a refusal to face the facts of geography, and so on. One wonders how unrealistic in fact was a government that recognized early that the Soviet Union might "have in mind the subjection . . . of all of Poland as a convenient jumping ground for the establishment of Soviet preponderance in Central Europe and Germany, as well as in the Balkans." Mikolajczyk thought that "a time when the Soviet troops were victorious was not the proper time to settle territorial disputes." His obstinacy about Poland's postwar boundaries was unremarkable in a practical politician who was worried that his own political position would be rendered impossible "unless he could tell the Polish nation that Poland would emerge from the war undiminished" and worried lest a compromise on the territorial issue "undermine the Polish Government's authority with the Polish nation." The London Poles indeed caused serious problems for Roosevelt and Churchill in their dealings with Stalin. For the Poles themselves, relations with Roosevelt and Churchill became an exercise in futility and despair. The President's evasiveness and reluctance to commit himself to a definite position on the Polish question seem incredible when seen through the eyes of a government-in-exile fighting for its country's survival. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, was anything but evasive. In fact, Churchill's elemental honesty produced anger and brutal tactlessness: "You are callous people who want to wreck Europe . . . you have only your own miserable interests in mind."

Churchill's outburst is understandable; so is the desperate diplomacy of Mikolajczyk, who wrote in October 1944 that "the Polish Government is expected to commit suicide. The present Polish Government and its Premier will not be persuaded to do this. . . ." Sovereign states do not submit gracefully to their own destruction; nor do their leaders abandon easily their own sense of independence and importance.

University of Minnesota

DAVID OWEN KIEFT

FRANCE, DE GAULLE, AND EUROPE: THE POLICY OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH REPUBLICS TOWARD THE CONTINENT.

By *Simon Serfaty*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 176. \$6.95.)

THIS book is principally about French policy toward Germany, the relative decline of France vis-à-vis Germany, and the limitation Germany places upon the rise of France. Mr. Serfaty traces the collapse of France's post-1945 policy of breaking up Germany and the failure of the internally weak Fourth Republic to master the revival of German strength, while seeking to hedge it about in the construction of "Europe." He shows that the revival of French internal strength under the Fifth Republic still has not permitted any clear French mastery of the German problem because of the inextricable involvement of the German and European questions. Though the internal decline of France guaranteed its external decline, subsequent internal revival could not guarantee parallel external ascendancy.

This study is part of an attempt by the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, Robert E. Osgood says in the foreword, "to reassess the foundations of international politics in the light of the current dynamics of national power and interest." This is a tortured way of saying something more obvious. It is unfortunate that the verbiage and strained formulations of so much contemporary study of international relations clog Serfaty's book. Somewhere in this brief but informative study a good clear statement is trying desperately to make itself heard. It does not do so. Now and then the right note is struck, the point trying to be made is clearly perceived, but again and again the clouds of murky language and the uncertain striving for a theoretical formulation obscure what one wishes, equally desperately, to hear said forthrightly. This is a great pity. Nor has the author been well served by his editors. He needed help. If the book were not potentially good, there would be no point in saying this. But the kind of syntax and usage found herein are simply too often unacceptable to be excused in a published work. While examples might be cited, this is not the place for them. Some of the translations similarly spoil the quality of the study. Careful reading by another student of French affairs might also have spared the author some of the factual errors.

One hates to say this, but the book needs rewriting. As it stands, it is a challenge, but for the wrong reasons.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

HISTOIRE DU ROYAUME-UNI: LES PRINCIPAUX COURANTS. By *Roland Marx*. [Collection U, Series "Études anglo-américaines."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 423.)

THIS book stands up well in comparison with the very best among the one-volume histories of Britain written by British or American historians. Historical analysis on a high level is combined with excellent narrative portions in a work that neglects none of the aspects of history—economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual. In each of its five chronologically divided parts there are either two or three chapters topically differentiated, except for those three chapters in the

first part that cover, respectively, the Anglo-Saxon and Danish, the Norman and Angevin, and the later medieval periods. A discreetly selected bibliography at the end of each chapter, nearly all of books in French or English, is preceded by a short section of well-chosen documentary excerpts in the original English or in French translations.

In each of the thirteen chapters there is something uniquely refreshing about the author's French angle of vision. The chronological boundaries of the third, fourth, and fifth parts (1689, 1815, and 1914) are standard, as is the book's emphasis on the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. But the earlier choice of 1529-1530 as the appropriate point for separating the first from the second part is a significant departure from the usual dynastic division at 1485. This is justified by extending the late medieval crisis of feudalism into the early Tudor period and by treating, as a part of that crisis, the trend toward absolutism under Henry VII and Henry VIII. It is further vindicated by the author's beginning the period of due respect for Parliament with the English Reformation and by his noting as major developments after 1529 the manifestations—economic, political, and cultural—of English nationalism at home and overseas, as well as the simultaneous renunciation of continental ambitions.

The author treats, without a trace of French rancor, what he regards as the major theme of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the acquisition and maintenance of British hegemony, with its decline beginning in 1876. Although British weaknesses in the twentieth century are observed, ample recognition is given to the great qualities displayed by the people of the United Kingdom in recent decades.

Far more could be said concerning the strong points of this book; any adverse criticisms that could be raised would be unwarranted in a short review.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

THE PAPERS OF GEORGE WYATT ESQUIRE, OF BOXLEY ABBEY IN THE COUNTY OF KENT, SON AND HEIR OF SIR THOMAS WYATT THE YOUNGER. Edited by *D. M. Loades*. [Camden Fourth Series, Volume V.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1968. Pp. xi, 261.)

SEVERAL years ago Dr. Loades made good use of the Wyatt family papers in his book *Two Tudor Conspiracies*. He has now published eight of the most important items from this collection. Four were written by George Wyatt (1554-1624), while the others, some anonymous and some by other members of the family, were collected by him.

The volume will interest historians in various fields. For military historians there are two treatises on the militia and an essay on the defense of Calais. Students of the American colonies will find a long letter of advice written by George Wyatt to his son Sir Francis, governor of Virginia, following an Indian raid in 1622. Stuart specialists can turn to a contemporary account of Prince Charles's abortive negotiations for marriage with the Spanish Infanta. But the real treasure of the volume is an anonymous chronicle of the English Reformation that covers the years from 1526 to 1536. Although based on Foxe and Holinshed,

it contains several bits of new material, for instance the assertion that the statutes suppressing the smaller monasteries and erecting the Court of Augmentations were drafted by Audley and Rich, not Thomas Cromwell, and the comment that Cromwell himself would have preferred gradual dissolution without parliamentary action. Such passages apparently embody an oral tradition that may well be correct. There is also an apologia for Anne Boleyn and a defense of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder and Sir Thomas the Younger against the accusations of Nicholas Sanders.

The writings of George Wyatt himself do not reveal ability of a high order. His military views, like those of most Tudor writers, are excessively theoretical and dependent upon Roman military practice; his advice for Calais and Virginia, as Loades admits, reminds one of Polonius, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he did not know enough of local conditions to offer relevant suggestions. He emerges from the volume as an antiquarian and a collector rather than an acute commentator on contemporary affairs.

Loades's transcription and editing conform to the usual high standards of the Royal Historical Society.

University of Minnesota

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG

THE SHAPING OF THE ELIZABETHAN REGIME. By *Wallace MacCaffrey*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 501. \$10.00.)

THIS wonderful book is full of old-fashioned virtues. Professor MacCaffrey has undertaken a large-scale narrative of the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign; he ends with the Treaty of Blois and the execution of Norfolk in the middle of 1572. This is a strictly political account, and high politics at that: who was who in council and at court; relations with Scotland, Spain, and France; religious policy and dealings with Parliament; above all, the complicated and all-embracing problems of succession and marriage. Matters that do not impinge on high politics are simply omitted; there is no mention, for example, of the Statute of Apprentices.

It is MacCaffrey's argument that by 1572 the regime was "shaped," and a new phase was about to begin for three principal reasons: First, a major epoch in the endless succession-and-marriage problem had ended. The Queen was thirty-nine; it was plain enough that she was not going to marry, or to have children if she did. By that time, also, Mary, Queen of Scots, was no longer a serious threat, save as the puppet of a foreign power. Her messy marital career and the Ridolfi plot had cost her whatever support she had once enjoyed in England, and Norfolk, her wavering White Knight, was dead. (MacCaffrey, unlike most historians of Tudor England, handles Scottish matters with skill and accuracy.) In the second place, by 1572, in MacCaffrey's view, the shape of the political future was determined, in the sense that it was clear that three people—the Queen herself, William Cecil, newly elevated to the peerage and the position of Lord Treasurer, and the Queen's favorite, Robert Dudley—would govern England. In the opening year or so of the reign Cecil showed signs of becoming all-powerful, especially after his Scottish success in 1560; then Dudley appeared, with that

special appeal to the Queen that no other man ever matched. There followed a long, devious, but far from continuous struggle for power that, by 1572, had ended in the sense that each man realized that he was not going to be able to oust his rival and with Cecil perhaps slightly ahead on points. In the course of this struggle Dudley achieved the remarkable feat of transmogrifying himself from a mere favorite into an important politician with a substantial following from among the religious radicals. MacCaffrey deals with this transformation brilliantly; his running discussion of the evolution of Dudley is one of his most original contributions. The result of the accommodation between Cecil and Dudley was the achievement of political stability for the first time since the early decades of the reign of Henry VIII. Finally, by 1572 these religious radicals patronized by Dudley had emerged as a new sort of political force in the land. This produced, says MacCaffrey, a "new politics . . . in which the initiatives to action came not solely from the sovereign but also from partisan aristocratic groupings, linked loosely but effectively by the common ideology of Protestantism." There was beginning to be a Protestant interest whose alienation from the crown would lead directly to the Civil War.

MacCaffrey has written an extraordinarily interesting book and done it gracefully and well. There are no earth-shaking discoveries here, no revolutionary interpretations. What there is, however, is a fresh and persuasive look at the familiar evidence, and the result is a canvas that is apt to remain the standard picture of early Elizabethan political history for some time to come.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

MAURICE LEE, JR.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY: THE SHEPHERD KNIGHT. By *Roger Howell*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1968. Pp. viii, 308. \$6.50.)

To distinguish his book from others on Sidney, Howell writes that his is "consciously the work of a historian, rather than a specialist in English literature," and that he intends to place Sidney "in his political context." Appropriately the first, and longest, of the book's three parts pertains chiefly to politics: England's internal and external problems, the Queen, court and courtiers, and Sidney's place and ambitions. The second part, entitled "The Man of Letters," describes his education and principal writings, while the third, and shortest, discusses his final ambitions and end. Above all, Sidney is portrayed as a leader and figurehead of the ardent Protestants—the "activists" as Howell calls them—who wished, despite the Queen, to fight actively for the security of Protestantism and the Protestant states and peoples, and against Spain.

The book has the considerable virtue of drawing together, incorporating, and digesting the studies and discoveries on Sidney accumulated in the half century since the first publication of M. W. Wallace's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (1915; reprint, 1967), which has been regarded as the best historical study of Sidney. Howell has used some manuscripts but apparently not those calendared in the *State Papers* and the *Reports* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, combed all the published source materials, and studied the great mass of writings not only about Sidney as would-be statesman and as author, but also about the

politics and diplomacy of his time. Although the book has no bibliographical apparatus, such as a list of works used, scholars wishing to investigate Sidney further will find this book helpful as a guide to recent publications.

For whom the book was written is not clear. Such statements in the introduction on "Dudley, Sidney, and the Politics of Tudor England" as that the "foreign situation itself was, however, not entirely satisfactory" in 1559 and that "the internal settlement of England, especially in the matter of religion, [was not] a completely happy one" seem incompatible with the detailed description and analysis of English and foreign affairs that follow. That the book is for the general reader is suggested, however, by the consignment of the notes, without any help such as headlines, to the back of the book; presumably such a reader would not want to see notes, and especially not at the foot of the page. If, however, it is intended for scholars, they will still find it necessary to read the specialized literature cited, the writings and editings of Buxton, Ringler, and the rest. Those particularly concerned with English diplomacy must turn elsewhere; they cannot stop with a Sidney-centered account. After all, Sidney's fame grew, as Howell says, out of his personality, his family connections, and his dramatic death (and later out of his writings). In life, as a politician and diplomat, he was peripheral, probably an embarrassment; safely dead, he could quickly become the legendary and useful Sidney.

Writing Sidney's life, Howell suffered from the scarcity of personal data usual in the cases of Englishmen of the early modern period and found it necessary to argue at length about possibilities and inferences; he was lucky to have so much of Languet's correspondence to quote from and to analyze (the general reader probably would have appreciated an earlier and fuller introduction to Languet). Although Howell must be aware of the dangers of inferential explication, he does not altogether avoid at least the appearance of transgression. He seems, for example, to be attempting the impossible when he starts a paragraph with: "To establish the precise dating of the poems," or writes that "a considerable problem [is] left, and that is to assess the precise meaning of the autobiographical content of the sequence" of sonnets, or asks "in precisely what sense are they autobiographical?" Perhaps a briefer study, written either for the general reader or for advanced scholars would have been more useful.

With this book and a reissued Wallace available, the publishing of another full-scale life of Sidney can wait half a century again, while any further discoveries and theories emerge cheaply, compactly, and conveniently in articles.

University of California, Davis

WALTER L. WOODFILL

BRITISH POLITICS IN THE AGE OF ANNE. By *Geoffrey Holmes*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 546. \$17.00.)

POLITICS and parties after the Revolution of 1688 are now being extensively studied by such historians as J. H. Plumb and by a group of younger men, including Henry Horwitz, W. A. Speck, H. L. Snyder, and Angus McGinnes, and older concepts of their nature are being revised. Macaulay and Trevelyan no longer provide satisfactory answers to the problems of Whigs and Tories. Keith Feiling's views enjoy a revival, but the more recent analysis of Robert Walcott is questioned.

Geoffrey Holmes greatly advances understanding of the reign of Anne. *British Politics*, well served by lengthy appendixes and extensive notes both at the bottom of relevant pages and at the end of the work, is the first of two volumes; the second will deal in greater detail with the "great ministry" of Robert Harley. The author weaves an intricate tapestry, providing "A Guide to Political Chronology, 1702-14," and concentrating upon analysis and definition. Part I, "The Character of Politics," examines Whig and Tory, old and new issues, principles and power, and the country tradition. Part II, "The Working of Politics," describes structure, direction, and organization of parties in Parliament and in relation to court, monarch, and managers. This is a political study, and for those whose interests lie in that direction it is entirely fascinating.

Holmes has used much new or unfamiliar material. Many manuscripts have recently become available to scholars, and these greatly extend understanding not only of party and faction but also of the characters of men like Harley and Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham. For the teacher and student these fresh interpretations are essential to a proper perspective on an important period; for the researcher in the field, the new school offers an invaluable stimulus and guidance to a complex subject.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

PROBLEMS OF EMPIRE: BRITAIN AND INDIA, 1757-1813. By P. J. Marshall. [Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, Number 3.] (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xii, 16-239. \$5.75.)

This is no ordinary collection of source materials. As the editor of the series points out, "what really distinguishes this enterprise is the fact that it combines generous collections of documents with introductory essays long enough to explore the theme widely and deeply." In this case, the three essays are models of their kind. No one is better fitted than Dr. Marshall, steeped as he is in every aspect of the subject from his Hastings and Burke studies, to sum up this period. The first essay describes the development of state supervision over the affairs of the East India Company. The second concerns itself with the results: "with the extent to which effective supervision of the government of India from London was possible and with the principles and standards which the authorities at home sought to instill into the Company's administration." The third deals with what to contemporaries was the heart of the matter, the relevant economic history of the period, stressing the debate "on how the trade with Asia could best be exploited, whether by a single company, a completely open trade, or a combination of monopoly and private ventures."

The reader is quite properly warned that the book is concerned with what happened in Britain, not with what happened in India, and often with what the British believed ought to be done, but was not done by the men on the spot. There is thus little of the flavor of eighteenth-century India. Inadvertently, perhaps, Marshall leaves the impression that, in the eyes of contemporaries in the late eighteenth century, victories over the French in India assured the British the mastery of the subcontinent. It is doubtful that contemporaries, either

British or French in 1805, would have agreed with his contention that the British were then "already in a position of unassailable supremacy." More puzzling is the choice of the time span, 1757-1813. Of the forty-five documents from which excerpts are given, only the company's charter of 1698 is dated before 1772, and there are only nine from the 1770's. It looks as if the book had been originally planned to cover the period between Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 and the opening of the India trade in 1813. The change in title seems unfortunate.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

DISRAELI, DEMOCRACY, AND THE TORY PARTY: CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION AFTER THE SECOND REFORM BILL. By E. J. Feuchtwanger. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 268. \$5.95.)

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF LORD SALISBURY, 1854-68. By Michael Pinto-Duschinsky. ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1967. Pp. 214. \$6.25.)

THE politics of English Conservatism in the late nineteenth century is coming more clearly into focus. Conclusions are not significantly changing, but the skeleton is taking on body from the detail of private papers. The work of Ostrogorski in 1902 was written entirely from newspapers and periodicals, and while his account of the caucus, of Tory democracy, of the struggle for leadership in the 1880's is still exciting to read, its limitations were shown by the encyclopedic research of H. J. Hanham in 1959, when he published his *Elections and Party Management*. Since then more papers have been opened, drawing the interest of young scholars like filings to a magnet. Maurice Cowling and F. B. Smith have studied the Second Reform Bill while Paul Smith has published a comprehensive if polemical study of social reform in Disraeli's government after 1874. The later career of Disraeli does indeed lie at the heart of all these studies; along with the recent biography by Robert Blake, it is hard to see how anything could have been added. Now, however, E. J. Feuchtwanger has published a volume specifically on Conservative politics from 1867 to 1884, from the Second to the Third Reform Acts.

It is a coherent and sensible period for a monograph of this length. The author very wisely does not exaggerate or press his conclusions. His purpose is to correct and supplement, not radically to alter, the view that party organization was not significantly affected by the Reform Act of 1867. The foundation of the National Union in 1867 and of the Conservative Central Office in 1870 did not mark the beginning of modern party organization for the Conservatives. The enlarged electorate of the cities could no longer be controlled by influence and patronage; national policies and personalities figured more directly in the outcome of elections; but for the Conservatives the gentry continued to maintain a decisive voice, even through Disraeli's ministry of 1874. The newer members with commercial and industrial roots simply adhered to the role of obedient party members. As a result, local issues remained predominant and party management did not change significantly from its character in the 1840's and 1850's, when control lay largely with the party leaders, with the Whips in Parliament, and with

the Registration Associations in the constituencies. The real change did not come until after 1884 when "the last remnant of the historic shires and boroughs disappeared almost completely. . . ." Before then, the Conservative party adjusted reluctantly and haphazardly to attracting the interest of a mass electorate that was concentrated in urban constituencies.

However conventional this thesis is by now, Feuchtwanger makes it more convincing by basing his study almost entirely on the correspondence of party leaders. The most serious limitation of the book is the consistency with which he sees these men solely within the machinery of politics. No figure comes to life, least of all Disraeli, whose position is not nearly so central as the title suggests. A part of the reason is that Disraeli himself had to acquiesce in the predominance of the country gentlemen. In 1867 he accepted the resignation of Salisbury, and while the latter was once more reconciled to Disraeli's leadership in 1872, he still represented the kind of leadership preferred by that large number of country gentlemen who objected to the literary Jew. Their preference is strikingly evident throughout Feuchtwanger's book, whereas Mr. Pinto-Duschinsky sees Salisbury as a far from typical member either of the gentry or of the nobility. He was too intellectual, with interests that ranged from language to politics to biology. Yet his convictions were always bent on stability and order, leading him in the mid-nineteenth century toward a consistent defense of government by those possessing wealth and education. For the country gentlemen, his integrity was unquestioned.

It is unfortunate that these views did not project a body of original or systematic thought. Pinto-Duschinsky has performed a valuable service in listing Salisbury's speeches, as well as the hundreds of articles, leaders, and reviews that he wrote for the *Quarterly Review* and the *Saturday Review*. They take up more than forty pages of his book. But Salisbury's writing was always that of a political journalist who was also conservative; its content was determined by events, by legislation before the House of Commons, by the books he was asked to review. Despite the special pleading of Chapter II and the attempt to connect Salisbury with Hume and Bentham through "empirical conservatism," the book fails to dispose of the objection that Salisbury's journalism does not provide a sufficient basis for extracting a monograph on his political theory.

York University

ALBERT TUCKER

THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, 1868-1968. By Trevor R. Reese. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 280. \$6.25.)

THE Royal Commonwealth Society was founded in 1868 as the Royal Colonial Institute, and the subsequent changes in the name of the organization have reflected the evolution of the British Empire. Trevor R. Reese has attempted to follow this parallel development of institute and Empire in his centenary *History of the Royal Commonwealth Society, 1868-1968*. Although in 1909 one of the few ladies permitted up to that time to address the members delivered a paper on

the chauvinistic theme "that one Englishman is a match for seven foreigners, and that it is our heritage and our inalienable right to be first," the society was not simply a patriotic organization. It was founded when fears of the Separatists ran high, and its purpose was to strengthen the bonds of Empire. Its declared objects were to provide meeting facilities, with a library and museum for those interested in the Empire, where knowledge of imperial matters might be advanced through the delivery and discussion of papers and the publication of a journal.

For most people in 1868 the Empire meant India and the settlement colonies. The composition of the institute's membership and the range of papers it heard apparently reflected that perspective. Reese gives brief sketches of some of the fellows: the presidents and chairmen of the council, a few of the more prominent members, and a "random selection of those who died in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. . . ." However the reader is left with many important questions unanswered if the institute is to be seen as part of the British imperial scene. What, for instance, did the member mean when in 1880 he described the institute as "the place of resort of a particular set of persons"? What proportion of members were colonists, civil servants who had served in the colonies, members of Parliament, military men, businessmen? In the ranks of the Royal Colonial Institute useful information could be found for greater understanding of those active, imperial-minded Englishmen who composed an informal, but supposedly influential, pressure group. Perhaps the most interesting observation the author makes concerning the members is that they were out of touch with colonial sentiment in the 1870's. One could have hoped for such illumination of the post-1880 years, as well as of the imperial subjects that interested the fellows. There is merely passing mention of the nature of the papers they discussed. Reese indicates that the membership, as would be expected, was heavily Conservative, and yet, in his two chapters on colonial policy under Gladstone and Disraeli—inexplicably divided in 1876—one looks in vain for evidence of greater understanding between the institute and the Conservative government or of some conclusions drawn from the absence of such evidence.

Undoubtedly there are difficulties in organizing in tandem the development of a society and that of an Empire, because the society's activity may not always reflect imperial activity. The temporary decline of the institute between 1890 and 1910, for example, contrasts sharply with the intense imperial activity of the same period, yet the explanation of internal problems seems superficial. There were many other organizations dedicated to imperial interests competing for audiences, and a chapter is devoted to the institute's relations with them, but the broad differences between them are never clearly distinguished. The society's response to the major imperial events of the past fifty years would seem to confirm its "distaste for saying anything definite," and this no doubt made the author's task awkward in the later chapters. There are too many serious lacunae in this volume to be mentioned here, and its additional structural failings compound its flaws.

Brooklyn College

ANN M. BURTON

THE BRITISH VOTER: AN ATLAS AND SURVEY SINCE 1885. By Michael Kinnear. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1968. Pp. 158. \$12.50.)

BRITAIN has so far presented an apparently insuperable challenge to the electoral cartographer. With over six hundred parliamentary constituencies, whose boundaries are changed from time to time, crowded into a relatively small country, there is no easy way to draw maps that are both clear and sufficiently detailed to show just what the electoral sociologist would like to portray. By using color and large-scale maps, it might be possible to produce electoral maps as satisfactory as those drawn up by the geologists and the geographers. But such maps would be very costly, and nobody has so far been prepared to risk a substantial sum of money on them. Indeed, there has not even been any attempt in Britain to parallel the partly colored regional maps produced in Germany in recent years for such works as Vogel and Haungs, *Wahlkampf und Wählertradition*.

Dr. Kinnear has not been allowed by his publishers to become a cartographical innovator. Confined to working in black and white, which means gray in the reproduction process used, and with national maps covering the whole of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, roughly 11½ inches by 8½ inches in size, he has had to concentrate on conveying a general impression of what he is trying to map. Whereas *The Times House of Commons*, using a different style of map making and a format 17 inches by 13 inches, can get in the names of individual constituencies, Kinnear cannot. Those maps that deal with topics that lend themselves to black-and-white representation—such as the distribution of the mining vote in 1921—are inevitably clearer than those that must show a more complicated pattern. There is also some variation in the quality of reproduction, and one map in my copy of the book is imperfectly reproduced.

The historian who wants a general idea of the main outlines of British electoral geography will find maps that show the distribution of the seats held by the various parties at each general election since 1885. He will also find some more detailed maps, concerned chiefly with the 1920's, that break new ground. Inevitably, the text accompanying the maps is more interesting when it deals with these latter maps than when it deals with the routine election-by-election maps. Kinnear clearly regards this book as in some way setting the scene for his forthcoming book on "The Fall of Lloyd George." The specialist will therefore note that there is something of a breathless rush about most of the narrative (often one page or less per map). But the 1920's are covered in some detail, and no one interested in British political history can afford to neglect what Kinnear has to say on the subject.

It must, nonetheless, be repeated that this is not the sort of book that marks a break-through in electoral cartography. It is rather a gathering together of the sort of general information contained in *The Times House of Commons*, along with a variant of the type of map that has accompanied it for many years, plus some interesting ventures attempted by Kinnear. What we now need is electoral map making in color undertaken by a professional cartographer.

Harvard University

H. J. HANHAM

BEATRICE WEBB: A LIFE, 1858-1943. By *Kitty Muggeridge* and *Ruth Adam*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. 271, vi. \$6.95.)

KITTY Muggeridge, the principal author of this biography and the wife of the journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, the son of a Fabian, was the niece of Beatrice Webb ("Aunt Bo"), the daughter of Beatrice's younger sister, Rosy. The book, entertainingly written with the collaboration of the novelist Ruth Adam, is a portrait of Beatrice as a woman, rather than as the bluestocking Mrs. Sidney Webb. Without intending to patronize its authors, one might nonetheless suggest that much of its structure, and numerous patches, may be read as a variant of a "lady's novel."

Using family papers, the authors depict the intimate development of the eighth of the nine daughters of the wealthy Victorian household of Richard Potter: Beatrice's rejection by her mother and her efforts to secure the love of her sisters; her curious relationship with a grandfatherly Herbert Spencer, with whom at one time an engagement was rumored; her passionate love for Joseph Chamberlain, who was, apparently, put off by her refusal to submit to his will; the businesslike proposal of marriage by R. B. Haldane; and, finally, Beatrice's biographers ask if this woman, who entertained dukes in her father's house in Kensington Palace Gardens, could be happy as the wife of one of England's fortune-interested, and, very likely, least presentable Cockney socialists. This soap opera quality, enlivened by such choice items as Beatrice's revelation to a nephew that "the first time we were alone together [Bernard] Shaw simply flung himself on me," is heightened by the curious use to which Mrs. Muggeridge's mother, Rosy, is put in the story. Rosy, the most feckless of the Potter girls, living a Bohemian life and chanting the praises of "free love," is presented as a foil to Beatrice's repression of her womanly passions. Beatrice, whose view of Rosy had long been that she was "never any good," is pictured, toward the end of her life, remarking "reflectively to a visiting nephew, 'Sometimes, I think that after all Rosy was right.'"

Yet the work is not merely a "lady's novel," if only because the portrait of Beatrice is so convincing and because the authors attempt, with some effect, to understand how Beatrice's personal life colored the more public questions with which she was identified. Particularly interesting, for example, is their insight into the Victorian, puritanical element in Beatrice's socialism, which continually reappeared and made her impatient with any social welfare scheme that was not framed to improve the character of the poor. Although the book is marked by minor errors, inadequate footnotes, and the wholesale neglect of recent monographic literature, it might be said in defense that the authors were not attempting a scholarly work. While we must wait for Royden Harrison's biography of Sidney for a more fully balanced, scholarly account of the pair, it is nonetheless pleasant to enjoy now the undeniable virtues of a thoroughly absorbing book.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

BERNARD SEMMEL

BRITAIN IN THE CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR: WAR, PEACE AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1900-1967. By *Arthur Marwick*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1968. Pp. 511. \$8.50.)

ARTHUR Marwick has already written, among other works, *The Deluge*, a study of the "homefront" during the First World War. The present work, subtitled *War, Peace and Social Change, 1900-1967*, is "about the social effects of modern war" and about Britain in the present century. He tries to ascertain the social effects of war in Great Britain in the twentieth century, though he admits that "societies which have not borne the brunt of the two twentieth-century wars have gone through processes of social development remarkably similar to Britain's." He has included and discussed much material "wherein wars and rumors of war figure not at all." He recognizes that war "is not the only, nor is it the most important, instrument of change," but he seeks to show how and why the two wars have played a substantial though not equal part in promoting social change. ("Little" wars such as the Korean War bring only negative results, he holds.)

During the First World War, particularly in the first half of the period, the emphasis was largely on "Business as Usual." Shortages of shipping, munitions, and food and inflationary prices forced government action on a wider and deeper scale than had been anticipated or even thought possible. State control during this war was not the result of a change in ideology. Although many trends already present were merely accelerated, as Marwick points out, "new precedents and new expectations" were established.

The Second World War, which was so costly to Great Britain in its effects, was also a crucial factor in establishing the "welfare state." As Marwick says, "there was a colossal mood for change engendered by war—not only among the workers but among many of the middle class—and the legislation was to reflect that." Unlike what happened after the First World War, many of the promised reforms were actually enacted by Parliament. The result, too, was that the immediate mood of deep disillusionment that followed the First World War did not so quickly follow the Second.

Marwick has written what is essentially a social history of Great Britain in the present century. He has been less than completely successful in the more difficult task of distinguishing between changes wrought by war or accelerated by war and those that could (or would?) have taken place without war. The distinctions are not readily measurable. By using a wide variety of printed sources, by selecting wisely, and by his own graphic and at times impressionistic writing, Marwick has, however, succeeded in presenting an informative, interesting, vivid, and often fascinating social portrait of Great Britain in the twentieth century.

University of Hawaii

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

THE MINERS AND BRITISH POLITICS, 1906-1914. By *Roy Gregory*. [Oxford Historical Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 207. \$5.95.)

BASED mainly on Labour party and miners' union records and provincial newspapers, this monograph examines how the miners moved from staunch support

of the Liberal party to affiliation with, and then toward unqualified allegiance to, the young Labour party. The focus is narrow, having little concern with larger political issues and legislative trends, but the inquiry into the political attitudes and psychology of the miners and into the machinery and the financing of elections in mining constituencies is very thorough, and it is enhanced by impressive statistical analyses of the distribution and strength of the miners' vote. The author finds that by 1910 the miners constituted a tenth of the electorate in eighty-six constituencies and 40 per cent or more in twenty-three of these constituencies. This concentration added to their solidarity and long experience in politics made them a formidable force.

With the affiliation of the Miners' Federation in 1909, the Labour party gained 550,000 new members and, after the January 1910 election, 16 additional M.P.'s. Coming later than that of any large trade-union group, the decision to affiliate—213,137 for and 168,446 against—stemmed partly from irritation at the reluctance of local Liberal associations to accept miners as candidates. In contrast, the Labour party leadership proved both shrewd and flexible in its efforts to win and consolidate the support of the miners. Although the party's patience was often sorely tried and its posture of independence was sometimes openly flouted, these leaders were able to recognize that miner M.P.'s who already sat in Parliament before their unions joined the party could not be expected to change their colors or abandon their local Liberal supporters overnight.

The shift to Labour is traced rather elaborately for the different coal fields. The "Front Runners" included Durham and Northumberland; the "Slow Starters," Yorkshire and South Wales; the "Laggards," Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, both of which in the 1908 Miners' Federation ballot voted against affiliation. The importance of wage fluctuations and industrial strife, of Liberal intransigence, of socialist proselytizing, and of the displacement of older "Lib-Lab" miner officials by younger blood are considered in detail. The question is posed as to whether a large-scale clash between miner and Liberal candidates, which was avoided in the two 1910 elections, could have been avoided in 1915 had the war not imposed a political truce and prevented the testing. Mr. Gregory thinks that the clash would have occurred, that by this time the miners were moving clearly to the Left. In any case he notes that by the late twenties the Liberals had been thoroughly routed in the colliery districts. This is a painstaking and valuable contribution to Labour party history.

Ohio State University

PHILIP P. POIRIER

EDITOR: A SECOND VOLUME OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY, 1931-45. By
Kingsley Martin. (London: Hutchinson. 1968. Pp. 340. 42s.)

THERE can be no doubt as to the important position occupied by Kingsley Martin in recent British history: editor of the *New Statesman* from 1930 till he gave place a few years ago to the man who is now Her Majesty's ambassador to Washington, he converted a rather stolid Fabian journal into what has been truly described as a "national institution." With a circulation of ninety thousand by 1945, the *New Statesman* made powerful sounds on behalf of the dissenting Left, a few converts,

and a fair profit margin for its proprietors. Since historians make extensive use of the files of newspapers and periodicals, it is always helpful to have an inside account of the journalistic world as a rod against which to measure the reliability of any particular newspaper. The first chapter of this book fulfills this role admirably; it clearly emerges that the opinion of the *New Statesman*, almost exclusively, was the opinion of its strong-minded editor. Occupying the position that he did, Martin was naturally associated with many of the progressive pressure groups of the 1930's, and there are some interesting recollections of the National Council for Civil Liberties and of the Union of Democratic Control (in its later and generally neglected phase). There are shrewd appraisals of Wells, Shaw, and other intellectual giants. Despite the subtitle, the war years, actually more than a third of the period reviewed, occupy only one of the sixteen chapters, but that chapter is a good one. First an illuminating thought on the psychology of war (echoed, of course, in a thousand other sources): "I recall walking up the hill to Hampstead, with London on fire behind me, loud noises everywhere, bits of shrapnel falling on the path, and arriving in a state of something like exaltation." Also, a reminder of what the *Blitz* could really mean: "I remember that children in one of the great hospitals had their faces so penetrated by glass splinters that the doctors questioned whether their lives would be worth saving. Glass, unlike metal, will not respond to magnets and there was no alternative but to cut away their faces."

Unfortunately, the diverting but curiously empty stretches between the beginning and the ending cruelly expose this book's essential weakness. It is neither good autobiography, since Martin simply does not have enough firsthand material to spread that far; nor is it good history, since he is all too ready to make judgments (as, for instance, in his gross underestimate of the significance of the 1941 Committee or in his flatly contradictory assessment of James Maxton) which are little short of absurd. Worse, he pads his account with long excerpts from writings that have been long enough in print for most of us to be pretty familiar with them. Half of page 307 is taken up with a letter from J. M. Keynes, "which contains two pieces of information of historic interest," both of which, let me say without further ado, have been commonplace for over a generation. For the hard-pressed college professor there are some good anecdotes, but, if Martin wished the attention of those whose interest in history goes beyond coffee-table tittle-tattle, he should have condensed his memoirs into one telling volume.

Open University, London

ARTHUR MARWICK

ROUSSEAU AND THE RELIGIOUS QUEST. By *Ronald Grimsley*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 148. \$4.80.)

CONSIDERING the massive and rapidly growing literature on Rousseau, not all of which is useful, Professor Grimsley has done a surprising thing: he has written a study of Rousseau's religious experience and convictions that manages to be lucid, informative, and original. His conclusion neatly fits the views of those historians who are inclined to see the Enlightenment as a whole and Rousseau as part of the Enlightenment. Despite Rousseau's enthusiastic tone and individu-

alistic manner of expression, his "religion," Grimsley tells us, "appears much closer to the general eighteenth-century outlook than he himself was prepared to admit." Rousseau was a deist, convinced that the noblest ideas of God come to man through reason alone and that each individual has the obligation to rely on his own judgment in his search for religious truths. To be sure, Rousseau thought religion a matter of emotion as well: man's conscience, his "divine instinct," had its part to play in the search for certainty quite as much as did rational inquiry. But, then, in his religious thought as in his general philosophy, Rousseau did not see reason and passion as enemies or opposites; at their best, they were intimate allies.

Grimsley divides his short appraisal into three parts: he begins with another look at Rousseau's life, his "religious experience," and sets familiar facts into a new context; he continues with Rousseau's explicit views, his "religious thought," where he finds himself on much-traveled ground; and he concludes with the most original part of his exposition, Rousseau's "religious mythology," by which Grimsley means Rousseau's highly private and generally secularized version of traditional religious notions like paradise, the gods, and hell. For Rousseau, paradise was the world of early youth, a time of happiness, innocence, candor; this was the world he sought in vain to restore and described in such moving terms in his autobiographies and his *Nouvelle Héloïse*. The gods, once again, are figures from his childhood reincarnated in the perfect beings that populate his sentimental yet intellectually so important novel. But, as we know, the end of Rousseau's life was a journey to hell, and, unlike Dante's journey, it was destined to end there. Despised, hunted, misunderstood, unloved—that is how Rousseau saw his hell from which he found no escape. This may sound fanciful, but Grimsley, whose control of the writings by and on Rousseau is admirable, makes his case clearly and persuasively. After his own sensitive study of Rousseau's psychological development, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness* (1961), and Jean Starobinski's splendid essay, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, la transparence et l'obstacle* (1957), on which Grimsley here relies, *Rousseau and the Religious Quest* takes its place with the dependable interpretations of an elusive philosopher.

Columbia University

PETER GAY

THE GEOMETRIC SPIRIT: THE ABBÉ DE CONDILLAC AND THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Isabel F. Knight*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 89.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 321. \$10.00.)

In this full-length study of Condillac's work and of his place in the Enlightenment, Mrs. Knight offers perceptive analytic chapters on Condillac's epistemology, metaphysics, psychology, and aesthetics and on his educational and economic theories. These chapters are models of sustained critical analysis. Knight's interpretations are lucid and persuasive; her bibliographic essay is an excellent summation of the pertinent literature; she has evidently mastered her material.

Condillac, more than any other philosophe, can be known only through his works. A timid, tepid, relatively affectless personality, he had few friends, none

of them intimate; he wrote few letters revelatory of anything significant about himself; he left no diaries or journals that might have provided the basis for a biography. As Knight points out, Gustave Baguenault de Puchesse's *Condillac, sa vie, sa philosophie, son influence* (1910) is "the first and only biography," and Puchesse himself wrote that his study was based on "des traditions orales, des pièces autographes, des portraits, des actes authentiques et nombre de livres lui ayant appartenu." Condillac was an elusive subject.

Necessarily concentrating on his published works, Knight has constructed an intellectual portrait of Condillac. The image that emerges is that of an avowed empiricist, a disciple and popularizer of Locke, who was, in spite of himself, a "cryptorationalist" with a "deep affinity . . . to the rationalist tradition represented by Leibniz. . . ." We see a philosopher who, in his *Traité des systèmes*, attacked the great system builders of the seventeenth century—Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, Malebranche—but himself sought "to reduce to a single principle everything concerning . . . human understanding," to achieve "certainty" in metaphysics and morals: "He deduced [Knight observes] the natural law from the attributes of God, which in turn he had deduced from the rational order of the universe, which he declared to be self-evident." (It is in such matters that Condillac best represents "the geometric spirit" that Knight maintains is the epitome of Enlightenment thought.) Condillac's work was at once praised and exploited by the Encyclopedists and commended by the Jesuits. An associate of the philosophes, Condillac was yet deemed "safe" enough to serve as tutor to the Prince of Parma. And indeed he was safe: a political and social conservative, a believing, observant Catholic (as well as an ordained priest), opposed in principle to religious toleration, he seems, in Knight's words, "to be living in another world" from that of the philosophes.

Given such contrarities, Condillac's place in the Enlightenment is difficult to define, but Knight does not hesitate to include him among the *petite troupe*. His philosophy, she notes, "had a special relationship to the thought of his age precisely because of its ambiguity. . . . There was something in his thought for everyone." Knight makes frequent allusion to the ambiguities in Enlightenment thought, its tensions and crosscurrents. Condillac in this regard may be truly representative of his age. And yet, just as Knight agrees that the Marquis de Sade is a "caricature" of the philosophes, even if in some ways a genetically understandable one, so a reader is tempted to say that in his philosophical oscillations and in his social and political conservatism the elusive Condillac too is something close to a caricature. More broadly, one may well question whether "the geometric spirit" exemplified in Condillac's work is indeed the key to the Enlightenment way of thinking.

Still, in the Enlightenment's house there are many mansions; distant cousins, twice removed, remain members of the philosophic family. Thus we may join in Knight's conclusion that "in his sense of the public duty and private necessity of making all the difference one can in an unenlightened world, Condillac stood united with the other philosophes."

Exhaustively researched and well written, Knight's study is a distinct contribution to our understanding of Condillac and the Enlightenment.

University of California, Berkeley

GERALD J. CAVANAUGH

UN AGENT DU COMITÉ DE SÛRETÉ GÉNÉRALE: NICOLAS GUÉNOT.
CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE LA TERREUR. By *Claude Hohl*.
[Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution française.
Mémoires et documents, Number 22.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1968.
Pp. 116.)

Now that historians of the French Revolution have made such a good start on portraying its ordinary participants, we had better make room among the sturdy artisans and shopkeepers for a few ne'er-do-wells and opportunists. The antihero of this little book fills the gap admirably. Nicolas Guénot lived in that half-world of thugs, thieves, and informers that has so long proved bothersome but indispensable to the police—revolutionary, antirevolutionary, or otherwise. His contact with the great men and great events of the Revolution was like a rat's contact with cheese: he helped arrest André Chénier, spy on the relatives of Loménie de Brienne, search (and sack) the house of General Biron. Even while working part time for the *Comité* in Paris, he managed to keep his hand in on bribery, extortion, and handling stolen property. With a police inspector's blend of distaste and fascination, Claude Hohl tracks his man from his birth in Burgundy in 1754, through a rowdy youth among the lumbermen of his home town, to five ill-documented years in Paris, seven more in the army, a brief career as poacher and brawler back in Burgundy, five more rather obscure years in Paris, and then the Revolution. Until *Thermidor*, the Revolution served Guénot very well, although whether he returned the favor is more doubtful. The defeat of the sans-culottes came close to destroying him; he spent another six years in and out of prison, crime, and misery before returning to Burgundy for another three decades of quarrelsome existence at the margins of society.

If many of the ordinary revolutionaries were like Guénot, Taine's famous characterization of them as canaille was justified. Hohl makes no claim either way. In fact, he disserves us by providing no indication of the way to connect this unsavory person with the general history of the Revolution. How many men like Guénot were there, and how did they get drawn into the revolutionary apparatus? It looks as though the *Comité de Sûreté Générale* faced a classic problem of newly installed revolutionary regimes—how to add one more degree of surveillance and control to the existing organization—and, like many other regimes, found itself absorbing some of the techniques and personnel of the underworld. Single biographies like that of Guénot cannot take us far toward understanding that problem. But by displaying the amazing wealth of sources concerning an obscure if troublesome agent of the Revolution open to a really determined investigator and showing the possibility of reconstructing not only the life history but also the network of associations of such an individual, Hohl unintentionally points the way to an extremely revealing variety of collective biography and inventories the major sources with which it could be done.

University of Toronto

CHARLES TILLY

LA SIDÉRURGIE FRANÇAISE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE: RECHERCHES HISTORIQUES. By *Bertrand Gille*. [Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, Number 66.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. 317.)

THIS volume might better have been entitled "Essays on the French Iron Industry in the Nineteenth Century." It is, in fact, a collection of articles, all but one of which were published (several under pseudonyms) in the *Revue d'histoire de la sidérurgie*, edited since its founding in 1960 by Professor Gille. The exception was published in 1958 in the now defunct *Histoire des Entreprises*, also edited by Gille.

The thirteen articles range chronologically from the First Empire to 1881, the eve of the introduction of the Gilchrist-Thomas process in the French iron industry, and the great depression of 1882-1896 in French industry generally. They cover almost all aspects of the economic history of the industry with the notable exception of the labor force, but two themes predominate: technology and industrial organization (including details on individual firms as well as data on industrial concentration).

Gille is one of the leading entrepreneurial historians in France, as well as one of the most prolific of French scholars. A former archivist, he organized the section of private and business archives of the Archives Nationales and is now director of research in the *Centre d'Histoire de la Sidérurgie* in Nancy, recently established under the auspices of the French iron and steel industry and actively engaged in the collection and preservation of the industry's records. It will thus come as no surprise to readers familiar with Gille's other works that he relies heavily on archival resources. For that reason alone the volume will be a mine of information for other students, especially non-French ones, of the French iron industry. In other respects it bears the marks of its genre: it is spotty, hastily written (even though over a period of ten years), and repetitious. It is a convenient collection that should prove useful to specialists for many years, but readers interested in a more comprehensive history of the modern French iron industry should compare it with Jean Vial, *L'industrialisation de la sidérurgie française, 1814-1864* (2 vols., 1967).

University of Wisconsin

RONDO CAMERON

LES CLASSES BOURGEOISES ET L'AVÈNEMENT DE LA DÉMOCRATIE, 1815-1914. By *Félix Ponteil*. ["L'évolution de l'humanité."] ([Paris:] Éditions Albin Michel. 1968. Pp. 573. 9 fr.)

IN his latest volume Félix Ponteil has demonstrated yet another way of writing a history of the French middle class by focusing on the elusive relation of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie to democracy. Though some attention is given to the middle classes of England and Eastern and Central Europe, it is in the French middle class that the issues can be seen most dramatically. For it was in France that the middle class organized an eighteenth-century democratic revolution; it was also in France that they continued throughout the nineteenth century to speak the language of liberty, to promote social equality, and to recruit from the lower

ranks. Yet, as Ponteil demonstrates, despite its own democratic traditions and nature the French middle class viewed the rise of democracy with growing fear and alarm. Great liberal intelligences, like Renan and Taine, spoke out against it. In 1849 Guizot wrote a book proving that *Democracy in France* could never achieve the success of *Democracy in America*. Ponteil cites a Guizot letter to Lord Aberdeen that captures all this nineteenth-century ambivalence: "What I do know is that while the slow progressive influence of democracy is just and healthy, its quick easy and sovereign triumph will be fatal to the liberty of citizens as well as fatal to the stability and good governance of states."

A virtue of Ponteil's book is that it enables us to understand why the French middle class was certain that democracy meant disaster. Without altering our traditional portrait of the French bourgeoisie as politically progressive and economically conservative, Ponteil explains how democracy came to be regarded as a threat to all that this middle class cherished—liberty, social mobility, and the representative system. This passion for the representative and the parliamentary process, which Ponteil labels a *faux départ*, was the real ideology of the bourgeoisie. What the French middle class believed in most was that liberal, parliamentary system that they had created in 1789. They had seen it subverted first by the democracy of the Convention and later by the despotism of Bonaparte. It was no vague specter of "the people" that haunted the liberal imagination of the nineteenth century; it was the precise vision of the crowd pressing outside the Chamber of Deputies and, even worse, packing the galleries. Nineteenth-century liberals celebrated those moments in the history of the Revolution when representative bodies had resisted the pressure of clubs, sections, and sans-culottes, and they mourned those moments when they had succumbed to this pressure, as in voting for the execution of Louis XVI. In 1830, as experienced revolutionaries, they resisted the efforts of the crowd to interfere in the trial of the ministers of Charles X, and during the July Monarchy they sustained the separation of mob and Chamber. Yet the liberal nightmare became real again in February 1848 when the crowds roamed through the Chamber. Democracy again appeared as an enemy to that stable orderly parliamentary world.

Why did the French middle class fail to realize that in the triumph of democracy they would maintain their dominant position? They would possess every advantage: energy, wealth, control of the press, party organization, and, above all, political experience. Modern French political life was their creation, their game, and they had written all the rules. As Ponteil ruefully concedes, "to speak frankly they had knowledge and a unique experience of things political." Ponteil provides us with a detailed account of the way in which the French middle class did slowly and reluctantly come to recognize this truth. After the triumphant democratic Revolution of 1848, the middle class, which had always imagined its power dependent upon a narrow franchise, found itself chosen by universal suffrage. Temporarily deprived of power in the Second Empire, they seemed willing for a time to sacrifice power and liberty for economic growth. The liberal Empire saw their resurgence, yet this famed liberalization was from their point of view only a return to the former constitutional state. Thus, in the years following the fall of the July Monarchy the French middle class, having experi-

enced a Second Republic and a Second Empire, had learned that they could more easily manipulate a republic. Adolphe Thiers, the most powerful man in the republic of 1849, made possible the creation of the Third Republic in 1875. If the French middle class were to accept democracy and its political form, the republic (which they had abhorred), the democratic republic also had to undergo changes. Ponteil describes how, in the course of the nineteenth century, democracy, in order to assure its triumph, had to assimilate both the Napoleonic state system and the liberal parliamentary one. Thus democracy when it came to France did not come through revolutionary action. It was not the Paris Commune that created the Third Republic. Rather, it was the army on the other side of the barricade led by Thiers, whom Tocqueville once called that little "pot-au-feu bourgeoisie."

Yale University

STANLEY MELLON

L'ÉCOLE LIBÉRALE SOUS LA RESTAURATION: LE "MERCURE" ET LA "MINERVE," 1817-1820. By *Ephraïm Harpaz*. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 16.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1968. Pp. xii, 424.)

A SPLENDID way to explore a period or a particular school of thought is to study a newspaper that professes to speak for current ideas. This Harpaz has done by looking at the early years of the French Bourbon Restoration from the vantage point of a leading periodical and thereby re-creating the climate of the age. *Le Mercure de France* appeared weekly from January until December 1817 when it was suppressed by the government; the *Minerve française*, virtually the continuation of the journal, began in February 1818 and continued until March 1820. This, however, was no ordinary newspaper; rather it was the organ for Benjamin Constant and a group of important but less well-known associates: Jay, Jouy, Lacretelle *ainé*, Tissot, Aignan, Évariste Dumoulin, and Pages. In their outlook they represented a major segment of French public opinion.

Constant is the hero of the book, and it is really his world that is portrayed. The natural rights of man, human dignity at all times, the virtues of the individual as opposed to the collective were the passions of the mature Constant, and it was from this frame of reference that these journals looked at the world, particularly the political events. Even though his ideas now symbolize a bygone day when the bourgeoisie were assuming leadership, still in 1815 they were on the cutting edge of modernity and reflected the voices and dreams of the true nineteenth-century French liberal.

As he applies the X-ray of scholarship to the liberal Restoration press, Harpaz tackles his problem as the radiologist who notes every minute detail to diagnose his patient. The story of the Restoration has often been told; liberalism continues to be well worked over; the Constant literature is large and accessible; only the history of the news media in nineteenth-century France is less known. What Harpaz has done is to combine all these ingredients in a new way. The problem is that the major lacuna, the press history, is dealt with over such a limited period that the reader becomes well acquainted with only one paper for a relatively short time span.

What is presented is done well and thoroughly. The analysis of the Richelieu, Dessolles-Decazes, and Decazes ministries is excellent. How the periodicals, from their political and economic liberal positions, viewed French domestic and foreign policy, the internal events of other nations, and finally the literary and artistic achievements of its day is superb. The author must have pored over these folios with great tenacity; only a patient and learned man would have made the attempt, thereby providing us with a unique and detailed insight into the age.

DePauw University

JOHN J. BAUGHMAN

HENRI ROCHEFORT: PRINCE OF THE GUTTER PRESS. By Roger L. Williams. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1966. Pp. x, 309. \$6.95.)

ROGER L. Williams has demonstrated considerable talent for recapturing a personality, a mood, an era, as, for example, in his *Gaslight and Shadows: The World of Napoleon III*. It is regrettable that the Marquis Henri de Rochefort-Luçay does not seem to have provided a subject worthy of this talent. Possibly Rochefort, master of journalistic scurrility and possessor of unbridled ego, could better have been handled as the subject of a short vignette rather than of a book-length study. Rochefort, as presented here, was a thin personality. The question could be asked whether there is enough material of interest or importance concerning him to sustain a full-dimensioned biography. In consequence, perhaps, of Rochefort's lack of substance, Williams has made many long detours into events to the main thrust of which Rochefort was essentially peripheral, such as the Paris Commune, the Panama scandal, the Boulanger episode, and the Dreyfus affair. Thus the reader frequently loses sight of Rochefort, but he is uncompensated for this loss because the detours are not rich enough, not scenic enough to add significantly to an understanding of the period. The book falls between two stools; it is neither true biography nor an integrated life-and-times study. Inevitably, too, given the kind of affair that Rochefort involved himself in, the episodes treated in narrative detail form a peculiarly sordid selection, and since they had to be extracted from the larger continuum of late Second Empire and Third Republic history, they leave the reader with a somewhat distorted view of France during the years in question. The book does present, nevertheless, a good picture of what it meant to live by one's pen in France (and in exile) in the final third of the nineteenth century.

Given the state of French politics, there was abundant opportunity for a journalist totally without scruples to practice his craft sensationally and often profitably. To me, however, who has had the experience that Williams seems to have shared of having been fatally fascinated by Rochefort's vituperative prose, it comes as a disappointment to be forced to admit how poorly these tasteless outpourings pass the test of time. In short, the "gutter press" of the title gets almost unbearably monotonous after a while, as Rochefort's own subscribers discovered. Witness in this connection Rochefort's participation in Boulangism solely in the hope of increasing sagging readership. Williams' Rochefort—and without doubt his is the "true" Rochefort—appears as a thoroughly sleazy

character: master of the well-turned phrase and the obscene quip, but always a man of nonprinciple, always uncommitted. It is specifically in reference to Rochefort's demonstrated incapability, throughout his life, of making any commitment that the reader would have welcomed from Williams more in-depth treatment of what is hinted at in the introduction: namely, that Rochefort could be approached as a study in psychopathic behavior. Even so, there is material in the book that by implication provokes thought concerning the effects on personality of the dislocations and maladjustments in the society of postrevolutionary France.

American University

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS 1932-1939. Second Series (1936-1939). Volume IV (20 NOVEMBRE 1936-19 FÉVRIER 1937). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939-1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1967. Pp. xlv, 850.)

THIS volume constitutes the newest addition to the great French publication of diplomatic documents on the interwar period. So far three volumes of the "First Series" (1932-1935) and three of the "Second" (1936-1939) have appeared; they constitute only a small part of the projected total. The editors in chief, Pierre Renouvin and Maurice Baumont, have explained their approach and method of selecting documents in an interesting introduction to the first volume of the "Second Series." The main points of this introduction have been summarized in a review of the volume that appeared in the *AHR* (LXIX [Apr. 1964], 754). Hence, it would seem superfluous to discuss again the methodology of the *Documents diplomatiques* except to mention briefly some technical aspects of the entire publication.

Coming after the American, British, German, Italian, and Russian series of documents, the French publication could easily have profited from the experiences of its predecessors. In some cases it did, as, for instance, in combining a chronological arrangement of the documents with a topical table of contents; this is rather convenient. In others it followed the traditional French way of frequently omitting first names in the index or giving them only in a French version and of reducing explanatory notes to a bare minimum. It is a pity that the editors did not choose to follow the excellent example of the last volume of *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik*, which contains a table showing the organization of the Foreign Ministry and a list of cabinet members. A similar table of the bureaux of the Quai d'Orsay would have been most useful.

Most of the documents in the present volume concern the Spanish Civil War, and one can find some interesting dispatches illuminating the differences between the Great Powers. The next group of documents refers to France and the policy of European states. Those remaining are arranged under such topics as Danubian and Balkan Europe, Poland, the Middle East, the Far East, and America (subdivided into the United States and Latin America). It is rather revealing for the continental interests of France at the time of 1936-1937 that the editors se-

lected seventy-six documents on Danubian and Balkan affairs, while they included only eighteen on the United States and three on Latin America. Most of the documents in the volume are ambassadorial dispatches; there are, however, some notes from the Quai d'Orsay that come mainly from the private papers of René Massigli. The volume contains much that is informative and valuable but hardly any revelations. This may be due to the existing gaps in the Quai d'Orsay archives, but again it may just show that we have entertained exaggerated hopes about the contents of the long-withheld French documents.

Yale University

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ

EL SEÑOR INQUISIDOR Y OTRAS VIDAS POR OFICIO. By *Julio Caro Baroja*. [El libro de bolsillo, Sección: Humanidades, Number 114.] (Madrid: Alianza Editorial. 1968. Pp. 248.)

THIS gallery of portraits by Julio Caro Baroja contributes to a genre of writing that the author calls "vidas por officio," that is, biographical analyses based upon historical, occupational, or ethnic types. Thematic unity is achieved in these six seemingly unrelated essays—"El Señor Inquisidor"; "Lope de Aguirre, traidor"; "Pedro de Ursúa o el caballero"; "Intermedio helénico"; "Dédalo, Icaro y Rodrigo Alemán"; and "Martín del Río y sus *Disquisiciones mágicas*"—by focusing on early modern Spain and by adhering to the typological method whether using individuals as types or vice versa.

The length and importance of these essays vary greatly. The sketch of Martín del Río is sufficiently enlightening, but it might have fitted into the scheme better had he been viewed more as a typical Jesuit intellectual-functionary than primarily as the author of a famous disquisition on magic. The short chapters on sixteenth-century Greeks in Spain and on the sculptor Rodrigo Alemán seem to have been included to demonstrate further the author's own Neoplatonism. And universals (*tipos ideales*) are again employed to contrast the legendary heroism of Pedro de Ursúa with the villainy of his subordinate, Lope de Aguirre.

In the leading essay, "El Señor Inquisidor," the author pieces together character bits from three centuries of Inquisition history to create an interesting mosaic of the "real" inquisitor of early modern Spain. He draws heavily from the writings of the talented functionary of the Holy Office, Diego de Simancas, to characterize the Spanish inquisitor as a man of sound legal training, a realistic and loyal state official, and an enemy of priestcraft as much as of heresy.

The most exciting and important of these essays, however, is the author's analysis of the infamous cutthroat-cum-champion of "libertad," Aguirre. Rejecting the simple characterization of insanity to explain Aguirre's strange conduct during the ill-fated 1561 "El Dorado" expedition into the upper Amazon, Caro Baroja argues that Aguirre can be understood in light of his medieval Basque traditions in which physical valor, factionalism (*bandería*), the right of expatriation, and the rejection of tyrannical rule were ingrained characteristics. From Aguirre's own letter renouncing his loyalty to Philip II, Caro Baroja brilliantly reconstructs Aguirre's typically Basque, typically medieval philosophy of life, liberty, and death. The exposition is tightly argued and plausible, but not altogether convincing.

Eighty murders in less than a year can hardly be explained in terms of ethnology. But, as always, Caro Baroja is stimulating as well as entertaining to read, and he is at his best when analyzing the elusive Basque character.

Brigham Young University

DE LAMAR JENSEN

DEFIANT DYNASTY: THE COBURGS OF BELGIUM. By *Theo Aronson*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Company. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 323. \$6.00.)

AN up-to-date, thoughtful, and solid appraisal of the modern Belgian monarchs has at last appeared. Theo Aronson, whose previous dissections of the Spanish Bourbons and the Bonapartes have established him as an adept chronicler of royalty, has written a tightly packed, biographical tale embedded in a solid historical matrix. In readable and at times vigorous and distinguished prose he has skillfully etched four major portraits of those individuals who occupied the Belgian throne from 1831 to 1950 (the present King, Baudouin, being excluded). This study really comes to grips with the specific role of the sovereigns in forming a new small state from widely disparate, conflicting, and often quarrelsome elements. Aronson reveals the not always successful yet bold defiance and amazing flexibility of monarchical diplomacy. Whether it is Leopold I, the capable politician, Leopold II, the shrewd manipulator, or Albert, the courageous accommodator, all are depicted as dynastic rulers forced to live with and within the constitutional framework. The focus is carefully and comprehensively trained on the difficulties and dilemmas of the first two Kings and their authoritarian orientations and on the royal question of the World War II era with its "last ditch stand on the part of the monarchy, a final test of strength between King and Parliament, and it was the King who lost."

Never, reaffirms the author, was there a lack of dynamic leadership on the part of the inhabitants of Laeken. The personalities of these men gave their country an importance out of all proportion to its size. Through all the internal upheavals, the Coburgs sought to settle or to ameliorate disputes, first by making monarchy a powerful institution and later by the use of the states' constitutional laws. No major judgments of previous historians are reversed, for Leopold II and III both fare badly, whereas Albert and Leopold I fare well. Although primarily an orthodox examination of the political and diplomatic behavior of the Kings, there are some near-brilliant psychological insights. When Aronson's eyes are riveted on his major concern, his combination of meticulous research and an accurate rendition of the facts results in a substantial historical contribution. The reader learns about the Coburg men as individuals because this volume is filled with real historical figures rather than with impressions and shadows.

The work is less effective when the author moves beyond the monarchs, their conduct, the court, and so forth. Minor blemishes exist in the inability to analyze specifically the thinking of the various kings and their positions on the persistent bicultural clash and in the avoidance of the roles of the first two monarchs in the industrial development of the state. The substance of the book, which is not footnoted, shows no evidence of the systematic use of such manuscript sources as the valuable Van de Weyer and Lambertmont collections.

The author agrees that "Belgium needs the monarchy like it needs bread." In a bitterly divided, two-nation state that is sandwiched in the midst of the three titans of Western European power, the sovereigns have been a very necessary and successful rallying point for national loyalties. In a praiseworthy critical spirit, Aronson writes a vibrant and living history of that remarkable royal family and its involvement and influence both within and beyond Belgium. This pioneering work not only adds depth, understanding, and precision to familiar generalizations; it also injects a much-needed, even-handed objectivity. There are no longer halos over the royal heads; there are no longer pure or evil men—and rightly so.

Tulane University

PIERRE HENRI LAURENT

ACHT JAHRHUNDERTE DEUTSCHER ORDEN IN EINZELDARSTELLUNGEN: FESTSCHRIFT ZU EHREN SR. EXZELLENZ P. DR. MARIAN TUMLER O. T. ANLÄSSLICH SEINES 80. GEBURTSTAGES. Edited by *Klemens Wieser O. T.* [Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Number 1.] (Bad Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv. 1967. Pp. xxi, 671.)

In addition to being a worthy tribute to the eighty-year-old Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, this massive and well-produced *Festschrift* is the first volume of an ambitious publishing project designed to cover the sources and history of the order from its origins to modern times. Thirty-seven contributors, among them several scholars scheduled to write monographs later in the series, have collaborated to produce a collection of articles covering virtually every phase of the Knights' past. Their efforts are of varying importance but of uniformly high quality.

Space prohibits anything more than a catalogue of the specialized offerings. Erich Weise and Ingrid Matison analyze the Golden Bull of Rimini (1226), the former for its relationship to canon law and the latter for its impact upon politics. The relations of the order with Manfred of Sicily and Bishop Bruno of Schauenburg are discussed by Professor Hellmann and Herr Kouril, respectively. In a much later period Hanns Mikoletzky and Walter Pillich write of the attitude and activities of Maria Theresa and Joseph II vis-à-vis the Knights. There are two studies of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia: Professor Santifaller publishes the bull of her canonization, and Dr. Meschede studies her influence upon subsequent German hospitals. The career of Katharina Mulner (c. 1400), another sister of the order, is the subject of an essay by Anneliese Triller. Walther Hubatsch contributes a short piece on crusader castles, and Alfred Strnad studies the role of the "protectors" of the Teutonic Order in the college of cardinals. The latter subject, incidentally, is something that needs to be covered for other military-religious orders. Some of the medieval records of the Knights are discussed and edited by Professor Lampe and Herr Westpfahl.

The remainder of the volume is devoted chiefly to articles on the Teutonic Order in various areas and periods. Medieval studies include Prussia and Königsberg in the thirteenth century, the Rhineland and Danzig in the fourteenth,

and a survey of the medieval Grand Masters. The early modern age is represented by articles on Prussia, Venice, Hesse, and Westphalia and the impact of the Thirty Years' War upon the Knights. There are many studies in eras of more recent vintage, but these will be much less valuable for most historians. This is simply to say that the greatness of the order, and hence the worth of studying its history, is largely confined to the period before the Protestant Reformation.

Those interested in the story of the Teutonic Order during the time when it was a meaningful part of European history will welcome the appearance of many subsequent volumes in the series.

Lehigh University

CHARLES L. TIPTON

INTERPRETERS OF LUTHER: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF WILHELM PAUCK. Edited by *Jaroslav Pelikan*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 374. \$8.25.)

CONTRIBUTORS to this *Festschrift* in honor of Wilhelm Pauck are former students of his who reflect in their teaching and writing those qualities they admire in their teacher. They have succeeded in producing a volume that not only presents a series of significant interpretations of Luther from the sixteenth to the twentieth century but also traces the influence of modern German scholarship on Pauck and his role in American Reformation scholarship. Born and educated in Germany, Pauck served as church historian on the faculties of Chicago Theological Seminary, the University of Chicago, and Union Theological Seminary from 1926 to 1967, when he went to Vanderbilt University as Distinguished Professor of Church History.

New perspectives on attitudes toward Luther are to be found in essays on Robert Barnes, John Calvin, and a number of Elizabethans. These essays were contributed by Charles S. Anderson, B. A. Gerrish, and William A. Clebsch. George Hunston Williams analyzes Joseph Priestley's interpretations of the reformer, Priestley being the only representative of the eighteenth century. Ernest D. Nielsen, E. Theodore Bachmann, and Ernest B. Koenker deal with N. F. S. Grundtvig, C. F. W. Walther, Philip Schaff, Charles P. Krauth, and Søren Kierkegaard, nineteenth-century theologians and philosophers. The scholars who had the most direct influence on Pauck were his professors—Ernst Troeltsch, Adolf von Harnack, the theologian Karl Barth, and his lifelong friend Paul Tillich. The Luther scholar Holl, whose works deserve wide circulation in English translation, is represented by one of his influential essays, translated for this volume under the English title "Martin Luther on Luther." Jaroslav Pelikan, Klaus Penzel, and James L. Adams contributed the essays on Harnack, Troeltsch, and Tillich. Marion Hausner Pauck wrote the biographical essay of Pauck and compiled the bibliography of his published writings.

Whereas the main thread tying together all the essays is the interpretation of Martin Luther over the past 450 years, always Pauck's major interest, numerous lesser ones enhance the value of the volume. There is, for example, a good clarification of the scholarly differences between Troeltsch and Karl Holl and their roles in reviving an interest in the Reformation in the twentieth century.

Also important is the information provided on the early development of Reformation scholarship in the United States from the publication of Priestley's *Church History* in six volumes, completed in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, in 1797, to the publications of Krauth and Schaff in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The career of Walther, educated at the University of Leipzig, illustrates how the many practical problems facing all theologians of the young Protestant church in the early history of the United States made it difficult for them to follow scholarly pursuits.

Like the scholars closest to him, Pauck approaches the study of Luther and the Reformation not only from philosophy and theology but especially from history. Through historical research he gives the Reformation both meaning for its day and relevance for our time, inspiring others to follow his lead and making important contributions to Renaissance and Reformation studies both here and abroad.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

LEONHARD RAUWOLF: SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PHYSICIAN, BOTANIST, AND TRAVELER. By *Karl H. Dannenfeldt*. [Harvard Monographs in the History of Science.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 321. \$7.95.)

LEONHARD Rauwolf is known to botanists because of the genus of tropical plant, *Rauwolfia*, named after him. In recent years alkaloids of the *Rauwolfia* root have been isolated and widely used in medical therapy because of its calming and hypotensive effect. Until Dannenfeldt's researches, however, little was known about Rauwolf except his botanical descriptions and other observations made during a three-year period of travel and study in the Middle East (1573-1575). Included in his itinerary were stopovers in Tripoli, Aleppo, Rakka, Baghdad, and Jerusalem.

Rauwolf, a graduate of the medical university of Montpellier, had long desired to travel in the Middle East, primarily in order to add to the collections in his herbarium, a series of albums in which he mounted dried plants. In light of the financial difficulties scholars have usually encountered in pursuing their investigations, it is worth noting that Rauwolf managed to get support for his trip from the Augsburg mercantile firm of Melchior Manlich, in perhaps one of the earliest recorded "business" subsidies. Manlich, however, was also Rauwolf's brother-in-law, and Rauwolf was to pay his way by serving as physician to agents of the firm residing in the Middle East. It was clear, nevertheless, that Rauwolf's chief purpose was to study the drugs and plants in the area. Dannenfeldt follows Rauwolf on his journey, includes some of the observations and comments that Rauwolf made, and then supplements these with an exhaustive survey of observations of other travelers, or the researches of modern scholars.

Perhaps the section of Dannenfeldt's book having the most general interest is that devoted to the reflections of Rauwolf, a devout Lutheran, on the "Saracen and Turkish" religion and on other aspects of Middle Eastern life. Rauwolf went to considerable effort continually to label Muslims as hypocritical and superstitious, although he is almost equally condemnatory of the Jews whom he met. He

was somewhat less harsh in his comment on the Orthodox Christians. Rauwolf held that the European Christians were not only better armed than the Turks but also better fighters. This put him at some difficulty in trying to explain how such a superstitious and inferior people was able to advance successfully against Christian Europe. His answer, echoed by Westerners almost everywhere they have faced "backward" peoples, was that the Turks were willing to sacrifice many men. He also believed that God was punishing Christians for their transgressions, and the Christians were not helping their cause by their continual internal quarreling.

When Rauwolf returned from his travels, he resumed his position as official physician of Augsburg. During his spare time he wrote a book about his travels in which he identified the plants he had seen and tried to correlate them with those described by classical, Arabic, and contemporary botanists. He also rearranged his herbarium of dried plants and included a fourth album of some two hundred plants collected during his travels to the Middle East. This herbarium was later moved from Bavaria to Sweden, to Holland, to London, and then to Leiden, where it now remains as a prized possession of the university. Throughout this rather circuitous history, Rauwolf's collection served as an invaluable guide to numerous botanists. Rauwolf himself died in September 1596.

Dannenfeldt's book is a mine of information about botanical and medical matters, as well as on marriage, sex, and other customs. He seems able to trace almost every obscure reference and come up with detailed information from some source or another. His bibliography is comprehensive and inclusive; the index is adequate. Though Dannenfeldt has not succeeded in bringing Rauwolf to life as a living, breathing person, he has given us much information about the beginnings of modern botany and made it possible for us to visualize the difficulties a sixteenth-century botanist had to face in his attempt to identify exotic flora.

San Fernando Valley State College

VERN L. BULLOUGH

- BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER MOSELKANALISIERUNG. ZUR GESCHICHTE DER MOSELKANALISIERUNG VON DEN ANFÄNGEN BIS ZUR GEGENWART: EIN ÜBERBLICK, by *Marlies Kutz*; DAS PROJEKT DER MOSELKANALISIERUNG: EIN PROBLEM DER WESTDEUTSCHEN EISEN- UND STAHLINDUSTRIE, by *Gertrud Milkereit*. [Schriften zur rheinisch-westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 14.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsarchiv. 1967. Pp. 320.)
- ERDÖLHANDEL UND ERDÖLVERARBEITUNG AN DER UNTERWEISER, 1860-1895. By *Wolfhard Weber*. [Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Number 35.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1968. Pp. 272.)
- LEINENGEWERBE UND LEINENHANDEL IN NORDWESTDEUTSCHLAND (1650-1850). By *Edith Schmitz*. [Schriften zur rheinisch-westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 15.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsarchiv. 1967. Pp. 136.)

PRUSSIAN MERCANTILISM AND THE RISE OF THE KREFELD SILK INDUSTRY: VARIATIONS UPON AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THEME. By *Herbert Kisch*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVIII, Part 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1968. Pp. 50. \$2.00.)

THE common theme of these variegated studies of German industrialization is government intervention. Marlies Kutz traces the evolution of navigation on the Moselle River and of proposals for its improvement from Roman times to the present. From the second half of the eighteenth century projects to improve navigability became increasingly popular, but objections grew at the same pace, for behind this classic case for public action there was a host of conflicting private interests. Although the debate was liveliest between the 1880's and World War I, it was not until after World War II that the age-old project was finally realized. Many opponents remained, especially on the German side, but since the French steel industry had the most to gain, France managed to prevail over a defeated Germany. Historically, the arguments revolved around two issues: heavy costs and the distribution of competitive gains and losses. Because of its need to transport heavy cargo of low value, the iron and steel industry inevitably surged into the forefront of the debate.

Following the historical survey by Kutz, the companion monograph by Milkerit focuses on the pre-World War I evolution of the West German steel industry and its relation to the canalization controversy. After the Franco-Prussian War, the Moselle emerged as a link between major German steel centers. The significance of this was not realized until the introduction of the Thomas converter made the extensive phosphorous iron ore deposits in Lorraine fully usable. Almost providentially this ore became valuable just as the old West German deposits were nearing exhaustion. The river system of the Moselle, Rhine, and Saar loomed as a major industrial artery. In the early 1880's the technically progressive Ruhr steel magnates strongly favored Moselle canalization to lower their cost of Lorraine ore. The competing steel centers were opposed; they feared that cheaper transportation would benefit primarily the Ruhr. During the 1890's, the positions became reversed. As the Lorraine and Saar Basins caught up technologically with the Ruhr, they looked to lower transportation rates for their finished goods. The Ruhr industrialists were then opposed, for they had shifted to Swedish ore and were no longer dependent on the Lorraine deposits.

The chief merit of these two studies is their discussion of the politics of canal building. The heavy industry centers of the west and southwest were not only competing with each other; they also had to contend with the crown's determination to favor the eastern provinces. In this political tug of war nobody asked what projects would contribute most to national income and growth. The state bureaucrats showed more concern for the loss of railroad revenue that might result from cheaper canal transportation. The authors do not analyze the crucial question of the social saving of canalization; they are content to relate the debate over the private gains or losses of the competing groups. To this extent the studies may disappoint the economist.

The trade and refining of petroleum from the 1860's to the 1890's, which is the subject of Weber's study, involves different aspects of public policy. Although this trade began during the height of the free-trade era, there was hardly a more regulated product than petroleum. Initially, the local authorities' exaggerated fears of fire forced importers to use secondary ports on the Weser River. The author traces the struggle with the Bremen port authorities to secure the right to unload and store petroleum. It was not until Hamburg and other ports threatened to take over the petroleum trade that Bremen officials became more accommodating. The building of special facilities to handle the new illumination product, good personal connections with America, special railroad tariffs for inland distribution, and the establishment of a petroleum exchange helped to make Bremen the major petroleum center on the Continent. Political considerations induced Bismarck in 1885 to impose a tariff on each barrel of oil imported. This was intended to favor Russian oil, which was imported in tanks, but it only hastened the introduction of tankers on the Atlantic, which helped the Standard Oil Company to strengthen its hold on the German market. Through a subsidiary, Standard Oil achieved complete control over the import, distribution, and refining of American oil in Germany by 1896. Its predatory methods gave rise to bitter complaints, but the state refused to take the antitrust actions for which the injured parties clamored. While this study reveals some interesting information concerning public policy, its main contribution is to the development of Bremen.

The study by Edith Schmitz is a survey of the rise and decline of the linen industry in northwestern Germany. Her chief aim is to synthesize and bring up to date the earlier, more regional studies of this traditional industry. There are no startling revelations in her book; the industry followed the classic evolutionary pattern from peasant household, to putting-out, to factory. As elsewhere in Europe, northwestern Germany's linen industry eventually lost out to cheaper, more versatile cotton goods. One of the author's contributions is to show how the various areas adjusted to this decline. The book is also instructive as a case study in the failure of mercantilist policy. While during the seventeenth century the state mainly regulated the industry, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it undertook more direct promotional steps in the form of subsidies and training assistance. Almost invariably, these promotional measures remained ineffective.

The monograph by Kisch has evaluation of government policy as its focus. He compares the development of the two leading centers of the German silk industry: Berlin and Krefeld. The Berlin silk industry was the favorite child of Prussian mercantilism: indulged, overprotected, and always sick. Krefeld, the lusty child, grew to strength and success in the bracing winds of *laissez faire*. The knowledgeable juxtaposition of these two cases is very effective, and the monograph has a rich and vigorous style. Its approach is decidedly analytical: Marshallian economics with more than a touch of Marxist sociology. Kisch is highly critical of Prussian mercantilism. He finds reasons for its failure not only in bureaucratic incompetence but also in a basic contradiction between industrial growth and the feudal framework of Frederician policy. He concludes his study

with an attack on traditional German historiography for its failure to appreciate economic liberalism and for its alleged adulation of Prussian mercantilism. While Kisch makes some valid points here, the subject is, unfortunately, too broad to be dealt with adequately in such a short space. All of these studies are well researched and well documented; they are useful contributions to a still-undernourished modern analysis of German industrialization.

Rice University

GASTON RIMLINGER

NEUE QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE PREUSSENS IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. Compiled and edited by *Hans-Joachim Schoeps*. [Veröffentlichung der Gesellschaft für Geistesgeschichte.] (Berlin: Haude & Spenerische Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1968. Pp. 487. DM 24.80.)

WITH this volume of new documentary material on the history of Prussia in the nineteenth century, Professor Schoeps of the University of Erlangen adds one more scholarly contribution to his list of published studies in Prussian history, studies that have appeared periodically during the past dozen years or so and that have placed all students and teachers of Prussian history, as well as the general reader, very much in his debt. Like several of his others, this work is the result of Schoeps's diligent search to locate the archives in which the documentary remains after the war might be found, as well as his patient research into those remains of Prussian history. It reveals again, in the minutiae of its informative annotations and its archival information, not only his profound and comprehensive knowledge of the subject and his instructional ability in the field, but also his desire to further the study of Prussian history by handing on to others the knowledge of the sources that he has so arduously acquired.

Schoeps combed through the *Nachlässe* of various Prussian officials of the period, such as those of Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein, K. W. von Canitz, Ernst von Bodelschwingh, and others, and selected for publication such documents as memorials, reports, letters, and diary extracts that illuminate various aspects of nineteenth-century Prussian history. He has organized the documents in chronological groupings, beginning with 1800-1820 and ending with 1840-1874, and has annotated the documents with extensive historical, biographical, and bibliographical information that enhances the referential value of the book. Included among the documents are some letters from Metternich to Wittgenstein, from Bismarck to C. F. von Canitz, from Carl von Voss to Leopold von Gerlach, from Ludwig Natorp and others to Ludwig von Vincke, from Heinrich Leo to Jacob Grimm, and some correspondence between Frederick William IV and Bodelschwingh, as well as a secret agent's report on Heinrich Heine and some reports of Prussian General von Rauch from St. Petersburg to Berlin. The book is most valuable for specialists, and it was published to honor the sixtieth birthday of its eminent author.

University of California, Santa Barbara

HENRY M. ADAMS

POLITISCHE IDEOLOGIEN UND NATIONALSTAATLICHE ORDNUNG: STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERTS. FESTSCHRIFT FÜR THEODOR SCHIEDER ZU SEINEM 60. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by *Kurt Kluxen* and *Wolfgang J. Mommsen*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1968. Pp. 467. DM 52.)

THIS *Festschrift* honoring Professor Theodor Schieder contains four parts, each of which helps to explain the nature of the others. The first part consists of a three-page preface in which the editors portray their teacher with sensitive appreciation of his character and achievements. It enabled me, for example, to understand why Schieder has so frequently written articles of *Ideengeschichte*, a treatment that, to one who did not experience the destruction of values under Nazism, had come to appear discouragingly conservative. Schieder has led in the renewal of German historical study; while respecting traditional standards, he has experimented with new approaches and has explored subjects relevant to the spiritual and intellectual needs of the Germans.

The remaining three sections of the volume document the results of Schieder's efforts. In appendixes the editors supply a list of the fifty students who have taken their doctorate under Schieder and the titles of their dissertations, together with a list of his own publications. The first list shows that Schieder has given himself to his students at the expense of his personal record of output. He has written many articles, a few monographs, a few surveys; he has edited documents; he serves as editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*; but he has had little time to write books.

Schieder has broken with that almost exclusive concentration upon national history characteristic of his predecessors—not merely those of the Nazi period—by adopting a new historiographical internationalism. He expresses this internationalism in several ways. He chooses, and has encouraged his doctoral candidates to choose, those subjects of German internal history of the past two hundred years that were neglected by historians in an authoritarian society or too often interpreted in accordance with the dogma of the uniqueness of German experience. Among the twenty articles in the *Festschrift* by former students and young colleagues, two pertain to party history, two deal with education and society, and two with constitutional problems, making clear their social as well as their legal implications. Another article, an excellent one on Droysen, exemplifies Schieder's concern with problems of historical method and historical thinking in a time of crisis. Two articles, a brief one consisting mainly of four letters from Hardenberg to Metternich, the other treating German-Czech relations from 1918 to 1919, project his deep interest in international relations. An excellent article dealing with German policy toward the Poles and two articles about minorities in East Central Europe reflect Schieder's concern with emotion-laden subjects and emulate his objectivity. One of the two studies of Marxism, "Aspects of Historical Backwardness in Early Marxism," may surprise students of the underdeveloped regions. Six articles dealing with problems in foreign countries—the relation between state and society (Alexander Hamilton; Edmund Burke; the French Revolution and industrial classes), nationalism (Renan; the early history of the University of Oslo), and Georges Sorel and fascism—show the wide range of

Schieder's interest in comparative history. Although those six articles add little to knowledge, they are based upon thorough acquaintance with scholarly literature and demonstrate the recovery of the German libraries.

Since the editors have excluded, in favor of unity of theme, other lines of interest that Schieder and his students have followed, we may conceivably expect another rewarding volume in his honor in five or ten years.

University of California, Santa Barbara

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

THE GERMAN OFFICER CORPS, 1890-1914. By *Martin Kitchen*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xxix, 242. \$5.50.)

THIS is the first significant work, published in English, on the German Army officer corps in the period 1890-1914. Topically oriented, like the recent well-known work of Karl Demeter, the book focuses upon the isolation of the officer corps from most of the German people and their parliamentary representatives. Its scope is largely sociopolitical, and its theme is that the unquestioned traditional loyalty of the army to the Emperor caused its demise. The army was out of tune and out of touch with reality.

Mr. Kitchen presents a wholly recognizable antimilitarist thesis. In no chapter will a reader uncover a single favorable comment on the German Army officer corps. By utilizing the results of research into the few German Army records still available to Western scholars from the *Zentralarchiv* in Potsdam and Merseburg, the *Bundesarchiv*, the *Heeresarchiv* in Stuttgart, and others, and a wide range of secondary sources, the author has been able to establish some new insights into the organization of the entire German Army, into its social structure and its peculiaristic code of honor, into its permanent support for a preventive war, and into its relations with the German people and the Social Democratic movement.

He has advanced the cause of scholarship and understanding particularly in the monographic sections on the Zabern affair and the relations of the army with civilians and social democracy, where the dividends of his research into archival materials are at once apparent. In the chapters on organization and on Waldersee, where the evidence rests heavily upon published secondary works and memoirs, his efforts are less successful. Indeed, the specialist will probably find other studies far more useful on these points. And while the section on anti-Semitism is assuredly an improvement over the brief account accorded it by Demeter, those on the social order and education of the corps are but codas to the two Demeter studies (1930; 1962), which treat these issues so successfully.

By far the most serious deficiency in this otherwise successful effort is its indiscriminate condemnation of the German military system and its members. There is no positive side. The officer corps is Germany's millstone. Had Kitchen consulted Jonathan Steinberg's fine study of the navy and its officer corps in these same years, however, he might have benefited from fresh differentiating insights into another part of the officer corps that, incidentally, he neglects entirely. Some vagaries in consistent footnoting form in the early chapters and poor

transition between units, which suggests a stringing together of semi-independent topical studies, are minor difficulties by comparison.

Despite these limitations, the uncovering of so much significant archival material and its successful incorporation into some of the traditional themes about the army, the broadening of a view of the army beyond its Prussian elements, and a good style make for enjoyable and profitable reading.

University of Hawaii

ALLISON SAVILLE

UNTERNEHMER IN DER DEUTSCHEN POLITIK (1890-1918). By *Hans Jaeger*. [Bonner historische Forschungen, Number 30.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1967. Pp. 383. DM 45.)

THE author of this work casts a very wide net. He includes as an entrepreneur virtually everyone who has anything to do with the ownership, management, or financing of any profit-making industrial concern. Under politics he includes all activities of such entrepreneurs in any governmental legislative body, department, or advisory committee, chambers of commerce, industrial and special interest associations, lobbying, and even boon companionship with the emperor and membership in clubs and churches.

The first third of the book consists largely of statistical tables analyzing six questions: the total number of entrepreneurs in the *Reichstag*, in the legislatures of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse, and of Hamburg, Westphalia, and the Rhineland, and in municipal councils; the chronological rise and fall of that number; party allegiance of entrepreneur-legislators; distribution of such members among the various branches of business; regional distribution; and, finally, the intensity of their political activity. The second part surveys the influence of entrepreneurs in the five chief parties, in so-called political associations (the Pan-German League, the Navy Society, and so forth), economic associations, the imperial service, and individual or special positions of influence. The third attempts to comprehend and summarize entrepreneurial attitudes toward militarism, imperialism, foreign countries, and social legislation. In the fourth and last part of the text the author discusses under *Gestalt* the "style, mentality, temperament, personality, character," and so forth of the Wilhelmine entrepreneur. This is the weakest but perhaps, to many readers, the most interesting part of the book. Nine appendixes cover the names and dates of all entrepreneurs who served during the period in any legislative body, place, and type of business, the number of terms served, and the numerical rise and fall of the entrepreneurial group in the legislatures.

Dr. Jaeger emphasizes the great variety of types and ideas among German entrepreneurs of the period and the impossibility of making satisfactory generalizations about them. He does, however, attempt a few: that entrepreneurs tended to avoid assuming political and social responsibilities, that they were "spiritually unsure" of themselves yet "fatuously self-satisfied [*Überheblichkeit*]," and that, with the growth of great cartels, they withdrew from direct participation in politics. But in the end he still declines to make any judgment on the "value of the entrepreneurs' contribution to politics."

A critical evaluation of such a work is difficult. The author modestly describes it as a survey and summary, not a presentation of new information or a reinterpretation of known fact. It is entirely different from the work of, for example, Kehr, Hallgarten, Schumpeter, and Sombart, but it exhibits great erudition and represents a useful contribution to scholarship. It is an encyclopedic guide to the entire extant literature dealing with this subject—that is, to the few yet unexploited manuscript sources and the impressive wealth of archival and secondary material ranging from parliamentary minutes and handbooks to specialized monographs. The bibliography runs to fifteen closely printed pages. Jaeger always uses his sources with good critical sense, and specialists in many facets of modern Germany will find this work a unique reference for virtually every question connected with the relations between business and politics.

Queens College, Flushing, New York

ANDREW G. WHITESIDE

POWSTANIE PARTII HITLEROWSKIEJ: STUDIUM SOCJOLOGICZNE
GENEZY FASZYZMU NIEMIECKIEGO, 1919–1923 [The Formation of
the Nazi Party: A Sociological Study of the Genesis of German Fascism,
1919–1923]. By *Jakub Banaszkiewicz*. [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu
Zachodniego, Number 15.] (Poznań: the Instytut. 1968. Pp. 525. Zł. 90.)

WOLFGANG Sauer recently suggested (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 404–24) that, while fascist movements should be examined in terms of social composition, a social analysis ignoring their military element would be incomplete. Perhaps by coincidence, Jakub Banaszkiewicz employs Sauer's advice in this study. In four lengthy chapters the author, a sociologist and not a historian, describes the German political, economic, and social climate during and after the war; summarizes the political development of National Socialism between 1919 and 1945 and divides the era into three periods corresponding to changes in the social composition of its leadership; and closely analyzes the capture of the party's leadership stratum during the 1919–1923 phase by an element designated as the "social margin."

Banaszkiewicz attaches particular importance to the impact of the "social margin" on the subsequent growth and character of the NSDAP. He defines the concept as a social force brought into existence by the "crisis of capitalism" that produced the war and ultimately created a revolutionary situation. It consisted mainly of bourgeois elements forced outside stabilized society by the internal crisis. War veterans unable to adjust as civilians, artisans and small businessmen threatened by an increasingly industrialized society, and middle-class youth trained for the professions but thwarted in their careers by the socioeconomic structure comprised much of its membership.

Unable to re-enter "normal" society and determined to change it, the "outcasts" enshrined wartime military values and embraced an ideology of racism, nationalism, and anticapitalism. Banaszkiewicz believes militarism was the most important attribute of the group. Its membership, trained in brutality, contempt for civilian life, and the worship of loyalty and discipline in wartime and reinforced afterward through *Freikorps* experience, produced a hard-core cadre that

gravitated toward Right-wing *Völkisch* parties, especially the NSDAP. Entering the Nazi party after 1919, they rapidly ousted its *petit bourgeois* leadership and acquired power beneath the ultimate authority of Hitler. Their influx and entrenchment hastened the party's radicalization which culminated in the abortive *Putsch* of 1923.

Emphasis on the role of the "social margin" enables Banaszekiewicz to advance a Marxist explanation for the early history of German fascism. Eschewing the Marxist predilection, however, his social thesis is not unique. Relying heavily on the works of others, the author utilizes no new archival documentation. He obtains his thesis through reinterpreting the efforts of such scholars as Franz-Willing, Deuerlein, Waite, and Schäfer. He might also have consulted other studies containing documentation unavailable to him, especially the accounts of Phelps, Orlow, and Maser. Statistical evidence concerning the "social margin" as to size and other characteristics is also lacking. The book contains a brief summary in English.

United States Naval Academy

LARRY V. THOMPSON

DER ORDEN UNTER DEM TOTENKOPF: DIE GESCHICHTE DER SS.

By *Heinz Höhne*. ([Gütersloh:] Sigbert Mohn Verlag. 1967. Pp. 600.)

HÖHNE's account of the SS appeared as a series in twenty-two issues of *Der Spiegel* from October 1966 to March 1967. It evoked hundreds of letters, of which some sixty-five were published; more were pro than con, and a few were of historical interest. The book is noticeably expanded beyond the *Spiegel* text, principally through the addition of items of evidence and several hundred footnotes, but it exhibits no major changes except the omission of most of the final installment, which dealt with the years since 1945.

Despite the *Spiegel-Deutsch* ("Apparatschiks," "Endlöser Eichmann," and so forth), this is the best history of the SS thus far, and, together with the more generalized analysis in Buchheim *et al.*, *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, it provides the clearest view that present research gives of the subject. There emerges not the monolith of wartime and early postwar accounts but a cloud of quarreling smaller authorities who were opportunistic and ruthless. Like so much of the Third Reich, the SS showed features of neofeudalism: the ambitious satraps battled each other, the state, frequently the army, even the party itself, and finally struck at the untouchable *Führer*.

It was the creation largely of three men: Himmler; Heydrich, the expert organizer; and Gottlob Berger of the *Waffen SS*. From very modest beginnings in the 1920's, its powers grew rapidly under Himmler even before 1933. Seizure of police functions, its role as Hitler's literally private army in the Röhm *Putsch*, and the glittering appeal of its elitism raised it to the position of internal power that it held in 1939.

Its members were an extraordinarily mixed group: first, the Munich bullyboys, then the frustrated veterans and educated men, then the ambitious and prosperous newcomers of 1933; next the professionals, especially police, brought in as career men; finally the *Waffen SS*, initially with a large proportion of rural youth, later

adding a mishmash of foreign adventurers (or conscripts) from Finland and Flanders to Bosnia. A full study of the social origins of the SS is needed and should be possible.

Höhne does not gloss over the too familiar horrors, though his unnecessarily critical comments on such studies as Kogon's *SS-Staat* brought indignant letters to the *Spiegel* expressing fear that he intended a whitewash. It is all here: the concentration camps, the entrepreneurship with slave labor, the ghastly tale of the *Einsatzkommandos* and the massacres, the convulsive efforts to wash off a little blood through the incredible negotiations concerning Hungarian Jews in the last days of the war. The *Waffen SS* does not, contrary to its apologists, come out with escutcheon unstained.

As for "positive" activities, the vast resettlement schemes were as brutal as they looked, and more inefficient. Even the twisted racial ideology was not successfully implanted; Himmler's Germanic antiquarianism entertained him, but won few converts. Höhne points out the conflict between Hitler's nationalism and Himmler's murky Germanic racism.

The sources are extensive. Besides masses of filmed documents, Höhne has employed unpublished notes of Werner Best, *Reichsbevollmächtigter* for Denmark, and other private material, and numerous oral accounts. The published sources, German, English, and American, are carefully handled. To quote Hans Mommsen, this is no *Entteufelung* of the Third Reich; it does, however, approach the almost unbelievable reality of one part of it.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

GERMAN POLITICS AND THE SPIEGEL AFFAIR: A CASE STUDY OF THE BONN SYSTEM. By Ronald F. Bunn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1968. Pp. xxv, 230. \$7.50.)

THE most difficult problem one encounters with the *Spiegel* affair involves assessing its significance in the light of recent German history. Fortunately, the past year has brought forth two studies—this work and David Schoenbaum's *The Spiegel Affair*—which attempt to put the affair in perspective. In general, it seems fair to note that the Schoenbaum book spends more time placing the affair in the general context of German politics; the Bunn book focuses more on the press in this *crise de conscience*.

Because the *Spiegel* affair had to share headlines with the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, many are unaware of the basic facts of the case. *Der Spiegel*, a weekly magazine extremely critical of the Adenauer government, was accused by the government of publishing military secrets in an article that dealt with West Germany's and NATO's defense posture. What attracted most attention were the techniques used by the government to conduct its investigation of this journalistic gadfly: late night search and seizure of the *Spiegel's* offices; the arrest of a *Spiegel* editor in Spain using a highly questionable means; the assertion that the matter was strictly nonpolitical while accumulating evidence showed the difficulty of separating the legal from the political aspect; and the uncertain role of Franz Josef Strauss, Defense Minister and chief whipping boy for *Der Spiegel*.

The *Spiegel* affair seriously undermined the credibility of the Adenauer government. It may even be the bench mark for the end of the Adenauer era because it caused many to cast a second look at a hyperstable political system, and it quite clearly indicated that, though Bonn was not Weimar, it also was not a country where one felt completely at ease about protection of certain civil liberties.

The author notes that the *Spiegel* affair "exposed problems and stylistic qualities which transcend topicality and suggest insights of broader significance for an understanding of the Bonn political system." The task of delineating these qualities is carried out with some success. These problems involve the question of freedom of the press versus the demands of national security, the role of the press as an active agent in framing issues, the neither-fish-nor-fowl character of politico-bureaucratic state secretaries, and the general issue of the relative insulation of legal proceeding from political maneuvering. Much spadework has been done in a careful examination of the role of the press in this affair, and though Bunn has carefully assessed a wide range of journalistic materials, still it can be asked whether there is sufficient commentary on the issue of the over-all significance of this affair.

One of the chief merits of the book is the author's awareness of the intertwining of ideological, constitutional, and tactical strategies that moved the various actors—parties, press, and judiciary, to cite the main ones—in this political crisis. The book clearly states that the *Spiegel* affair is not comparable in its impact to either the Dreyfus or Ossiestzky affairs; still, it makes one wonder about a political system in which the villain of the piece, Strauss, might very well be the next Chancellor. Perhaps the lesson of the *Spiegel* affair for students of German history is that it once again underscores the validity of Max Weber's prophecy and the farsightedness and imaginativeness of Kafka's vision. For Weber, the major issue of our time was not the conflict between capitalism and socialism but the conflict between bureaucracy and democracy. And for Kafka one can only suggest a reading of *The Castle* or *The Trial*.

Wake Forest University

DONALD SCHOONMAKER

LE JEUNE CALVIN: GENÈSE ET ÉVOLUTION DE SA VOCATION RÉFORMATRICE. By *Alexandre Ganoczy*. With a preface by *Joseph Lortz*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Number 40. Abteilung abendländische Religionsgeschichte.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. xxxii, 382. DM 58.)

ALEXANDRE Ganoczy, a young Hungarian priest, is rapidly establishing a reputation as an expert on Calvin's thought. In this book he seeks to explain Calvin's rather mysterious development from a gifted law student into a leading Protestant reformer. He does not bring to his study of this important problem either new information or new methods of inquiry drawn from such disciplines as psychology. He rather brings to it an unusually judicious and technically competent evaluation of the few well-known documents that cast some light on Calvin's early development. The most important of these documents is the first (1536) edition of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and Ganoczy ac-

cordingly devotes nearly half of this book to an intensive evaluation of that text; he also carefully evaluates a number of pertinent, briefer documents.

It is Ganoczy's conclusion that Calvin did not become a real Protestant until he left his native France and settled in Basel in 1535. Ganoczy further concludes that Calvin developed his theological position not so much by formal study or by informal conversation as by reading and that the reading that influenced him most deeply was in certain works by Martin Luther. Other writers who influenced him at this critical juncture in his career were Melancthon, Zwingli, and Bucer. A demonstration that Calvin was influenced by other Protestants is not easy, for Calvin practically never cites or mentions them. The demonstration must be based on a search for parallelisms in concept and style. Other specialists will no doubt be able to line up other parallelisms. Still Ganoczy's examples deserve careful attention.

Ganoczy is on firmer ground when he examines the rather negative influence on Calvin of Roman Catholic Scholastic theologians, for if Calvin did not name his friends, he did name his enemies. Almost all of Calvin's references to the Scholastics in his earliest writings are to two rather elementary compilations, Lombard's *Sentences* and, oddly, Gratian's *Decretum*. There is no evidence that he knew of the works of the great medieval doctors. There is no evidence that he even knew of the works of such contemporary scholastic theologians as John Major, who was teaching in Paris when Calvin was a student there. Evidently Calvin's formal study in Paris had been limited to an elementary arts course.

One influence on Calvin's early thought merits further study than Ganoczy supplies, in my opinion. It is the influence of humanist rhetoricians. While Ganoczy alludes to Calvin's use of humanist writings, he does not study it in depth. He does not seem to be aware of the interesting possibilities for this sort of study suggested by Q. Breen's articles on the Protestant reformers' use of rhetorical arguments and devices.

It is Ganoczy's final conclusion that Calvin never experienced a dramatic "conversion" to a new set of beliefs and never committed himself to a final break with the Roman Catholic Church, but rather became increasingly convinced that he had a divine "vocation" to reform the Church, a "vocation" like that of the Old Testament prophets. This conviction explains much of the rest of Calvin's career. It also explains, Ganoczy believes, why that career merits further study from the ecumenical point of view that he himself so ably represents.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROBERT M. KINGDON

IL CARDINALE GABRIELE PALEOTTI (1522-1597). Volume II. By *Paolo Prodi*. [Uomini e dottrine, Number 12.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1967. Pp. 621. L. 10,000.)

GABRIELE Paleotti was a figure of some importance in the Roman Church during the second half of the sixteenth century. A member of a prominent family of Bologna, he lectured on civil law in the university there until he departed for Rome in 1556 to serve in the *Curia* as an auditor of the *Rota*. He was present at

the Council of Trent in its final phase (1562–1563) as a counselor to the legates; from this experience came his *Acta Concilii Tridentini*, which was left unfinished at his death and not published until the nineteenth century.

In 1565 he became a cardinal and in the following year bishop of Bologna. In 1582 his diocese attained metropolitan status, and he became its first archbishop. He resided in his see until the end of 1586, when he returned to Rome, where he spent his remaining years.

With the publication of this second volume, Prodi has completed his biography. The first volume, which appeared in 1959, deals with Paleotti's career until his arrival in Bologna as bishop in 1566. The concluding volume, nearly three times as long, treats in detail his efforts to carry out, in Bologna and later in Rome, the letter and spirit of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. In spite of his total devotion to the task, he failed; among the causes of his failure were the indifference and resistance of laity and clergy alike, and, not least, the interference of the papacy.

He failed also in the effort, closely related in his mind to the reform of the Church, to defend the rights of bishops and cardinals against the growing absolutism of the papacy. His fearless independence in this cause earned him the displeasure of several popes; his conflicts with Sixtus V became especially famous. His defeat, according to Prodi, is part of the larger defeat, for his time at least, of the spirit of reform embodied in the decrees of Trent. Victory belonged to another spirit, which Prodi feels was very different—the spirit of the Counter Reformation.

It is difficult to find fault with this excellent study. It is the product of extensive and thorough research, including work in several Italian archives; some of the material has not previously been used. The judgments are balanced, and new and important fields of investigation are indicated. There might be a question about the relative size of the two volumes, but it is probably answered by the abundance of material available for the study of Paleotti's career after 1566 and even more by the author's evident intention to concentrate on studying the fate of the Tridentine decrees by examining the career of one of the reforming prelates of the period. The book is a valuable contribution to the literature of the Catholic Reformation.

University of Kansas

WILLIAM GILBERT

STUDIA Z DZIEJÓW WYDZIAŁU FILOZOFICZNO-HISTORYCZNEGO
UNIwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Studies on the History of the
Faculty of Philosophy and History, Jagellonian University]. Edited by Syl-
wiusz Mikucki. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Number
139. Prace Historyczne, Number 16.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu
Jagiellońskiego. 1967. Pp. 473. Zł. 120.)

EVEN the oldest Polish university, founded in Cracow in 1364, is no longer di-
vided into the four traditional faculties, the largest of which, the faculty of
philosophy, included all of the arts and sciences. The present faculty of philosophy

and history represents only a part of the former one, but, in addition to the two areas mentioned in its name, it also contains the departments of archaeology, ethnography, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, and musicology. History still continues to occupy such an outstanding place in the university, however, that almost one-half of the symposium recently published by members of the faculty on the scholarly and educational activities connected with the individual chairs deals with the various branches of historical studies: ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary, cultural and artistic. The auxiliary sciences of history are thoroughly treated by the editor, Professor Mikucki, who is very successfully developing the constructive initiatives of the late Władysław Semkowicz. This part of the imposing volume is of special interest for readers of any historical journal.

The contributors had no easy task in describing the development of historical studies in the university from the origins to the present. Their most significant conclusion is that there was not just one "Cracow school" of Polish historiography, which was frequently blamed for its conservatism and exaggerated criticism of Poland's past, but that there were two schools, the second being more progressive and rather optimistic in interpreting that past. It also appears that within each of these schools there was a great variety of opinions, and in neither of them was there a desire to impose such opinions upon the students. In spite of changing political conditions and some governmental interference, the general situation was quite satisfactory from 1869 to the tragic date of 1939.

The authors rightly emphasize that, exactly one hundred years ago, the Austrian government granted substantial autonomy to Galicia, and this act permitted the re-Polonization of the university and the creation of a first chair of Polish history, which was occupied for fourteen years by the great scholar and teacher, Józef Szujski. Around 1909 some equally fortunate appointments made possible new trends that triumphed in the reborn Polish Republic. Particularly remarkable was the extension of the study of cultural history. What Stanisław Kot achieved in that respect is well explained in the chapter written by his pupil, Henryk Barycz, who now occupies the chair of the history of science and education.

Those who entered the Jagellonian University in 1909 will always gratefully remember the seminars of Stanisław Krzyżanowski, the incomparable organizer of medieval studies, and of Wacław Sobieski, the fascinating reinterpreter of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as well as the friendly advice and encouragement received from two emeriti who were once Szujski's most distinguished companions—Wincenty Zakrzewski and Stanisław Smolka. Their present successors, who not always share their views but who do continue to be inspired by their examples in the midst of today's radical changes, have, in this book, provided detailed information on the lasting achievements of these and other historians who illustrated the Jagellonian University in better days. This is a serious contribution to the story not only of Polish but of universal historiography and to the studies on the teaching of history.

White Plains, New York

OSCAR HALECKI

HELLAS—WOHIN? DAS VERHÄLTNIS VON MILITÄR UND POLITIK IN GRIECHENLAND SEIT 1900. By *Gregor Manousakis*. (Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv. 1967. Pp. 228.)

THIS brief inquiry-discussion into the role of the military as a continuous pressure group influencing the power politics of twentieth-century Greece through its ability to stage *coups* ponders the unanswered question of its effects on the country. Although the problem is reflected in previous works, most recently in Jean Meynaud's *Les forces politiques en Grèce* (1965), the author develops certain important themes through a compact though superficial exposition. From the Military League's *coup* of 1909 to that of April 1967, it was the belief of the military that the inefficiency and corruption of the political parties frustrated the realization or defense of the "Great Idea" irridentist-nationalist concept. A more subtle theme is the division within the officer corps between those who were absolutist-authoritarian and those who leaned toward republican-parliamentarism. Bourgeois political parties attempted to control these cadres, but mainly the absolutists controlled the general staff during the period. During World War II the Venizelist and royalist factions combined to destroy the Leftist military cadres of the government-in-exile and later, with Anglo-American aid, to defeat the National Liberation Army in Greece. Although the old factions have continued to evolve during the past twenty years, a complicating factor was the splintering of the two major parties of the Right and Center. The consequent instability, in the minds of some colonels, posed a threat to the defense of the "Great Idea" and caused them to execute the 1967 *coup*.

Manousakis' use of original sources is limited to those in the archives of the imperial German Foreign Office concerning the Military League, to which half of the work is devoted. He depends primarily on secondary works ranging from the traditionalist-bourgeois Constantine Paparrigopoulos and Gregorios Dafnis, which he emphasizes, to the Marxist Ioannis Kordatos and Tasos Vournas, whose materials on the socioeconomic origins and aspirations of the putschists and their links with establishment and foreign interests are unreflected. He appears unaware of Spiros Linardatos' *Tetarti Augoustou* (1966). Despite these major weaknesses and others of a less serious nature, this work is an important introduction to the study of modern Greek politics.

Lehman College

GEORGE MOUTAFAKIS

COMMUNISM AND THE YUGOSLAV NATIONAL QUESTION. By *Paul Shoup*. [East Central European Studies of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. 308. \$9.50.)

THIS book by Professor Shoup is concerned with the national question in Yugoslavia and fills an important gap in the literature on that country. Shoup presents us with a balanced, well-integrated analysis of the strategies used by the Communist regime in dealing with conflicting regional-ethnic rivalries in what is, internally, a highly complex society. The book opens with a historical survey delineating Communist party debates on the national question during the interwar period in Yugoslavia. This is followed by discussions of the relevance of the

partisan resistance to the solution of internal Yugoslav regional-ethnic rivalries and of immediate postwar attempts by the Communist party to solve regional-ethnic conflicts. One full chapter is devoted to Macedonia and its nation-building process since World War II, while another, on "Titoism and the National Question," deals more specifically with the overriding Serb-Croat rivalry. Finally, the book culminates with a discussion of "economic nationalism" as the predominant current trend within Yugoslavia. The book's development is effective in that the reader is given adequate background material before he encounters the more current problems of regional-ethnic cleavage within the country. The organizational schema begins historically (interwar, partisan resistance, immediate postwar) in order to provide the background context and then slides into a subject matter approach (the Macedonian question, Titoism, economic nationalism) so as to focus upon the major current issues in Yugoslavia. Despite what might seem a contradiction between these two approaches, this format effectively conveys both the developmental and topical aspects of the Yugoslav national question.

It is to the author's credit that the book tactfully avoids any of the "national" biases that so often creep into and disfigure studies that deal with Yugoslavia. The Serb-Croat rivalry has been handled with great understanding, balance, and sensitivity, a treatment not at all common to the field. The stance taken on Macedonia agrees closely with the official Yugoslav posture, which does not detract, however, from the merits of the analysis. The author correctly shows that the partisan "national-liberation" was crucial to Yugoslav politics after World War II and that in fact even today among Yugoslavs it symbolizes an important historical experience. Shoup also effectively demonstrates that the Communist party has handled the Yugoslav national question with both wisdom and subtle tact over the years, and he rightly highlights "economic nationalism" as the most critical factor currently affecting the future of the country. Only two points might be made regarding problems in the book: given the quasi-historical, quasi-topical schema of organization, there is some redundancy in the development of arguments in the book; and, the effect of the disproportionate focus upon Macedonia tends to de-emphasize other "national" questions such as that involving the Albanians of Kosmet and more basic regional-ethnic cleavages in the country as, for example, the developed north versus the underdeveloped south, or the Croats versus the Serbs. Neither of these reservations is sufficiently important to detract from the generally superior job Shoup has done. In light of the penetrating analyses and the elaborate documentation found in the book, I feel that Shoup makes a major contribution to the understanding of Yugoslav developments.

University of Oregon

M. GEORGE ZANINOVICH

YEARS OF THE GOLDEN COCKEREL: THE LAST ROMANOV TSARS,
1814-1917. By *Sidney Harcave*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp.
x, 515. \$12.50.)

This study covers approximately a century of Romanov rule from Alexander I to the fall of Nicholas II and should have been entitled "The Decline and Fall of Russian Autocracy." To the average reader it is a fascinating and bewildering

tale of political incapacity, of overconfidence and self-deception. It is far easier to be a prophet of the past than of the future. Still, one wonders whether rulers endowed with a keener sense of historical perception might not have been able to avoid the total collapse of social order.

Mr. Harcave discusses the reign of five emperors: One, Alexander I, assumed a messianic mission to amend the continental order while neglecting his own domain. Another, Nicholas I, came to cherish "magnificent dreams" only to end with a "magnificent fiasco" in Crimea, thereby proving his total inability to decipher the writing on the wall of history. A third, Alexander II, though able to grasp reality, lacked courage or foresight to deal with most urgent problems that emanated from his reforms. His successor, Alexander III, displayed a bullheadedness that produced political stagnation and social futility despite his highly praised "reign of peace." By counseling the peasants to follow the nobility and not to accept "ridiculous rumors about land partitions as advocated by the enemy," the Emperor demonstrated complete ineptitude to sense the nature of the national crisis.

Finally, there was Nicholas II, the last autocrat of Russia, who would retreat when assault was necessary and assault when retreat might have saved the Empire. An invisible hand of destiny seems to have led this last sovereign to misread history, to have revealed his massive incompetence, and to have caused neglect of opportunities that might have spared the nation the upheaval that descended upon it in the spring of 1917.

The last century of Russian autocracy represented a trail that led logically, though not fatalistically, to catastrophe. The story of the last five reigns is presented succinctly, lucidly, and soundly. Only occasionally does the author reveal a tinge of bias. For some reason he dislikes Witte, presents him as a meddler and an intriguer, and underestimates his accomplishments either in the field of economic development or diplomacy, notably at Portsmouth. Harcave also fails to mention Björkö, which would have added further evidence of the vacillating character of Nicholas II. Nor has there been any reference to the influence of Prince E. E. Ukhtomsky and its impact upon the eventual debacle in the Far East. One also misses reference to the evil influence of the "Doctor of Tibetan Medicine," P. A. Badmaev.

Harcave is fond of frequent use of Russian terms such as *kramola*, *khoziain*, *Stavka*, *tsesarevich*, when translations might well have been more appropriate. For some strange reason he refers to Shulgin's well-known newspaper *Kievlianin* as *Kievan*, which strips it of its "linguistic color." These critical remarks should not, however, detract the reader from the fact that Harcave's work is a worthy contribution to the study of prerevolutionary Russia. One of its chief merits is that the author is free of nostalgia, presents harsh realities caused by political myopia, and does not permit sentimentality to dominate interpretation. Harcave shows clearly the chain of contradictions that followed the Act of Emancipation or the October Manifesto, which recognized the Emperor as a constitutional monarch and retained his title of autocrat. As disintegration kept creeping into the social structure, the grand illusion of imperial glory was kept alive by men who ignored reality. Nationalism, of course, while it soothed injured pride, often

blinded political behavior; therein lies much of the tragedy of the last phase of Russian autocracy as rightly presented by this study.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

POBEDONOSTSEV: HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT. By *Robert F. Byrnes*. [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 495. \$15.00.)

CONSTANTINE Pobedonostsev, Russia's foremost prophet of reaction between 1881 and 1905, was a thoroughly distasteful personality. Everything about him, from his cadaverous appearance and habitual black suit to his morbid enjoyment of funerals and cemeteries, breathed an odor of decay and gave him the aspect of a sinister Grand Inquisitor. He profoundly distrusted human nature and liberal doctrines. An unswerving defender of autocracy, he decried freedom of expression, universal education, and trial by jury, and, in a celebrated pronouncement, rejected parliamentary government as "the great falsehood of our time." He was fanatical in his persecution of national and religious minorities. It was typical of his cold malevolence that he should prevent Old Believers abroad from visiting their dying parents in Russia. And he hoped that the Jewish question would be solved when a third had been converted, a third had emigrated, and a third had died out. One searches in vain for a sympathetic side to his character. There are those, including Professor Byrnes, who have praised his erudition and scholarly integrity, yet his most popular book, as Byrnes himself notes, was plagiarized from a work by Alexandra Bakhmetieva, whose unremitting complaints forced him grudgingly to acknowledge his debt to her.

Still, Pobedonostsev merits the careful study that Byrnes has given him. As tutor of the last two tsars, procurator of the Holy Synod, and leading member of the council of ministers, he made his influence felt in every area of Russian life, and his name became synonymous with the obscurantism and repressiveness of the tsarist order. Byrnes, apart from his work in Russian and East European history, is an authority on anti-Semitism in modern France, and so he is particularly well equipped to deal with a figure whose cast of mind resembles that of a Maurras or a Barrès. His biography of Pobedonostsev, some fifteen years in the making, is thorough and well documented. To describe his subject's somber life and to analyze his copious and often pedestrian writings were tasks that might have daunted even the most diligent scholar, but Byrnes has performed them with patience and skill. There are such occasional lapses as the First International appearing as the Third International and Nicholas II as Nicholas I, but these are minor blemishes and perhaps inevitable in a work of this size. In most respects it is a solid and an impressive achievement.

Yet it is a less effective biography than it might have been. It is repetitious and overloaded with detail that tends at times to obscure rather than illuminate Pobedonostsev's dark personality. There are too many summaries of men and events either too well known or too insignificant to warrant prolonged discussion. And the catalogue of Pobedonostsev's writings in Chapter II is unnecessary since it is repeated in Byrnes's exhaustive bibliography. All of this makes the

book too long and occasionally gives it a dreary encyclopedic character. This is a pity, as there are numerous sections—Chapter XI, for example—that are admirably executed and that show how outstanding this work might have been with judicious pruning and tighter organization.

Some lesser criticisms are also in order. Byrnes's allocation of space is sometimes questionable. He devotes far more attention, for example, to such relatively abstruse subjects as the Voluntary Fleet, the Palestine Society, and an ill-fated Russian adventure in Abyssinia than to Pobedonostsev's anti-Semitism (which he handles well but briefly) or his reaction to the emergent revolutionary movements of his time. About the latter Byrnes surprisingly has very little to say indeed. Disappointing, too, is his ambivalent treatment of Pobedonostsev's intellectual development. Was Pobedonostsev a consistent thinker or did he, like his contemporaries, Dostoevski and Katkov, shift from liberalism to ultraconservatism as the years advanced? Byrnes cannot make up his mind. More than once he tells us that Pobedonostsev was a "young liberal" or a "radical reformer" who turned to the Right only in his middle years, but we also learn that he was conservative to his roots and that his social philosophy "remained consistent throughout his long life." The weight of the evidence would seem to support the latter view.

It would be unfair, however, to end on a negative note. For Byrnes's book, whatever its defects, is not only the definitive study of a major figure in Russian history; it is also an important contribution to our understanding of the collapse of the old regime, an event that Pobedonostsev, by blocking even the most tentative steps toward constitutional reform, did as much as any man to bring about.

Queens College, Flushing, New York

PAUL AVRICH

THE MAKING OF A WORKERS' REVOLUTION: RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1891-1903. By *Allan K. Wildman*. [The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. Inter-University Project on the History of the Menshevik Movement.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 271. \$7.95.)

THE subject of this monograph is the involved story of the relations between the radical intelligentsia and the working class prior to the formation of the Russian Social Democratic party in 1903. It is probably true to say that no single subject in the history of modern Russia has received closer scrutiny from American and British scholars; nor, for that matter, has anything aroused more passion. At stake here are not only the legitimacy of the Bolshevik movement and government and its right or lack of right to speak on behalf of the Russian working class. What is directly involved is the fundamental problem of all radicalism: whether the socialist intelligentsia does, indeed, in any meaningful sense embody the interests and the aspirations of the "masses." The rich Russian material of the 1890's furnishes much evidence toward a solution of this question. This material has already been analyzed and debated by contemporaries, from whose differing interpretations of its meaning came the cleavage of the party into Menshevik and Bolshevik factions.

In the dispute between those who argue that there was perfect harmony

between Russian intelligentsia and workers and those who hold that the relationship between the two groups was tenuous and strained, Mr. Wildman takes a middle position, a bit closer to the former than the latter. He seems to feel that the Russian labor movement owed its start to propaganda and agitation carried on by intellectuals, but that, once launched, it developed a momentum of its own and displayed tendencies that often brought it into conflict with its onetime mentors.

By and large, Wildman is more at home dealing with intellectuals than with the workers. He provides an authoritative description of the formation in Russia of Social Democratic circles and a detailed, lucid account of the internal debates among intellectuals about policies toward labor. On the other hand, he deals all too briefly with the surge of the labor movement in the 1890's. The name "Central Worker Circle," the directing organization of the labor circles in St. Petersburg in the 1890's, is not even listed in the index. Wildman underestimates the educational level and therefore also the self-reliance of the Russian proletariat of which he believed the majority to have been illiterate. The census of 1897 revealed that 57.8 per cent of male Russian factoryworkers were literate; the proportion of literates among the skilled trades in St. Petersburg such as metallurgists reached as high as 73 per cent. This was no passive clay waiting to be molded by teachers from the intelligentsia, but an active social group, conscious of its interests and aware of the behavior of workers in the West. Wildman's high estimate of the role of intellectuals in stimulating labor disturbances derives in part from his reliance on contemporary police reports. The imperial police, in its eagerness to depict the working class as politically loyal, usually blamed industrial troubles on agitators from the intelligentsia, whether or not they were in fact responsible.

In sum, the subheading of this book—*Russian Social Democracy, 1891-1903*—renders more accurately its contents than does the principal title. It is a good account of what Marxists thought about labor and how they sought to influence it during the formative years of the Russian Social Democratic movement.

Harvard University

RICHARD PIPES

POLITIKA TSARIZMA PO RABOCHEMU VOPROSU V PREDREVOLIUTSIONNYI PERIOD (1895-1904) [The Policy of Tsarism on the Labor Question in the Prerevolutionary Period (1895-1904)]. By *A. F. Vovchik*. ([Lvov:] Izdatel'stvo L'vovskogo Universiteta. 1964. Pp. 321.)

THROUGH the upheavals of industrialization the Russian government stubbornly refused to permit a "normal," that is, Western, struggle between capital and labor. Labor might have won a few rounds, and tsarism was having none of that. Highly placed, morally corrupt individuals (Sipiagin, Goremykin, Durnovo, Sviatopolk-Mirskii, Pobedonostsev) put together a bag of tricks that amounted to "industrial bonapartism" (Vovchik's term), and the pathetic occupant of the throne gave his blessing. Only Witte in the last twenty years of the old regime had even a measure of real wisdom, and he was outflanked.

Tsarism belatedly saw that the bourgeoisie could replace the gentry as its chief

bulwark. Domestic and foreign entrepreneurs were quite willing to play the role, provided measures could be instituted to control the Russian proletariat—the least disciplined, most satanically intractable in the world. The government obliged with a series of factory laws (1886, 1897, 1899) that it touted as being the most advanced and humane in the world; this they were not since they were overwhelmingly dedicated to the exaltation of the entrepreneur.

The most typical product of the rotting regime was the “police socialism” directed by S. V. Zubatov. The “Zubatovshchina” attempted to create and support a reliable “left” against the extremists. Labor unions were taken into police pay, journalists were bribed to praise corruption, and respected professors were drawn into *sub rosa* domestic intelligence functions.

A. F. Vovchik’s book, one of the few serious Soviet studies of late tsarist labor policies, contains the most thoroughly documented study of the “Zubatovshchina” yet published. The work is based almost exclusively upon archival sources; indeed, the wealth of information could have been made still more meaningful had the author tempered and balanced it with data from memoirs and secondary sources. The chapter on courts, police, and army is largely a compilation of statistics, but those on factory legislation and on the factory inspection system are quite useful. Vovchik’s book can take its place with the older Russian studies of Ozerov, Martov, and Rashin as a major investigation of a critically important issue, though its chief merit is the sheer avalanche of material presented. These Russian works, together with the modern Western studies of Geyer, Pipes, Kindersley, Keep, and Wildman, make the pre-1905 period a most expertly studied chapter in Russian history.

University of Virginia

WOODFORD D. McCLELLAN

LENIN’S LAST STRUGGLE. By *Moshe Lewin*. Translated from the French by *A. M. Sheridan Smith*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. xxiv, 193. \$4.95.)

ENCOUNTERS WITH LENIN. By *Nikolay Valentinov (N. V. Volsky)*. Translated from the Russian by *Paul Rosta* and *Brian Pearce*, with a foreword by *Leonard Schapiro*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 273. \$7.00.)

“Despite Trotsky’s perceptive intuition,” writes Moshe Lewin, “it is not true that the concentration of power that reached its apogee with the Stalinist regime was the result of the ideas and splits of 1903–1904. It is in the . . . events that followed the Revolution and in the way in which they molded theory that its origin is to be found. Neither the theory of ‘war communism’ nor the diametrically opposite notions on which the NEP was based have any connection with pre-Revolutionary preoccupations and theories.”

This novel presupposition allows Lewin to construct an original interpretation of Lenin’s “Testament” as the dying leader’s attempt to salvage his creation, Soviet power, from the pitfall that awaits any backward country “whose vital social forces are either weak, indifferent or hostile” and which has had “a program of development” imposed upon it. Simply stated, how does one get rid of

the bureaucratic dictatorship that the “democratic” revolution brings in its wake? Stalinism, Lewin postulates, was not Lenin’s fault; it grew naturally out of conditions—Civil War and NEP—that were necessary for the survival of Soviet Russia and the Bolshevik regime. Too late, given his numbered days, Lenin “tried to rationalize the dictatorship in such a way that it could protect itself both from external enemies and from the dangers inherent in dictatorial power.” Among other things this meant trying to remove Stalin from the bases of power that he had constructed.

Lewin brilliantly reasons his way through labyrinthine Politburo maneuvers of 1921–1922, as political conflicts between practical men and idealists meshed with their preparations for the succession struggle. His conclusions seem valid enough to stand the tests of time and further investigation. But his refusal to consider Lenin’s entire life pattern, including the earlier years, has deprived him of a perspective in depth that would have offered him a sharper view of the crucial Georgian issue and would have brought the “Testament” itself into clearer focus. The Georgian story is too complex to be dealt with here. But an awareness of Lenin’s all-pervading egocentrism, which the author lacks, would have made it clear to him that the “Testament” was in great part the last-ditch assertion of a tremendous warrior’s fight to retain power even in the face of death, the only foe he was unable to conquer. The current adulation of Lenin in Russia suggests that, thanks partly to his “Testament,” Lenin made a good showing even in his battle with the Grim Reaper.

When the original Russian version of Valentinov’s book appeared in 1953, it appealed to scholars, despite its sensational, scandalmongering quality, because it blazed a trail into the relatively unexplored territory of Marxist leader Lenin’s nihilist-Narodnik roots. The book also became a favorite of Western cold war crusaders because it depicted Lenin as a semipsychotic bully whose authoritarian tendencies produced the political structure that gave rise to Stalin.

When one rereads the book in this excellent translation, it seems obsolete, its shock appeal dissipated. That is the case partly because so many of Valentinov’s ideas and images have been incorporated into books and articles, sometimes without due credit being given, and partly because recent scholarly analysis of Lenin’s own writings has brought forth insights that make Valentinov’s observations of him seem superfluous if not naïve. Also, in this age of tape-recorded interviews and instant televised history it is hard to accept as authentic in detail reminiscences of conversations between Valentinov and Lenin that took place a half century before they were set down on paper. That Valentinov, who broke with Lenin in 1904 and abandoned the Soviet Union in 1928, was telling the whole truth and nothing but seems most unlikely. Still, the book retains substantial historical value for its comments on Bulgakov, Plekhanov and Zasulich, and others in the Russian revolutionary movement who became divorced from Lenin.

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

SOTSIAL'NOE STRAKHOVANIE V ROSSII V 1917-1919 GODAKH [Social Insurance in Russia in 1917-1919]. By S. M. Schwarz. With an English summary by Abraham Ascher. [Russian Institute Occasional Papers.] (New York: the Institute, Columbia University; distrib. by Rausen Brothers, New York. 1968. Pp. iii, 202.)

THIS book by a leading Menshevik combines a personal memoir and a partisan historical study. The introductory chapter, which deals with the development of the social insurance movement from the late nineteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War, is based both upon articles published by the author and others during this period and upon the author's personal recollections. The remainder of the book, which deals with the period from 1917 to 1919, is from a revised version of a manuscript written in 1939 for a Hoover Library-sponsored study of labor policy during the first years of the Russian Revolution. This study was never completed, and Schwarz's manuscript is now being published for the first time.

From May until October of 1917, Schwarz was head of the social insurance department of the Ministry of Labor of the provisional government and was the author of important reform proposals. From 1918 until the summer of 1919 he was one of those in charge of the work of the insurance organizations of central Russia. The work combines the author's own recollections with many citations to the legal documents of the time, reminding the reader that as early as 1918 there was an extensive system of Soviet law, on paper at least, in the area of social welfare. One might compare the similar thesis as to other areas of the law presented in John N. Hazard, *Settling Disputes in Soviet Society: The Formative Years of Legal Institutions* (1960).

Schwarz makes clear the importance of German thought and practice in influencing the development of the social insurance law of Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this respect his work stands as a useful corrective to the work of Soviet legal historians, who have tended to understate the amount of German influence.

The English summary is good, but only two and one-half pages long. Thus this work is valuable mainly for readers who know Russian; for them it is a most useful record of a crucial period by a very capable inside observer.

University of Illinois

PETER B. MAGGS

THE GREAT TERROR: STALIN'S PURGE OF THE THIRTIES. By Robert Conquest. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. xiv, 633. \$9.95.)

IN a letter published in the December 1967 issue of the *Slavic Review*, Robert M. Slusser wrote, "A full and accurate history of the Great Purge is urgently needed." Conquest has come as close to providing one as anyone is likely to do for some time, barring further substantial disclosures from Soviet sources. (As the author notes, since the fall of Khrushchev such disclosures have been rare, and the current tendency to discourage criticism of Stalin reduces the probability of more in the near future.)

The chief virtue of the book lies less in its surprises, which are few, than in

its success in painstakingly reconstructing events in sequence, based on analysis and comparison of both official Soviet and "unofficial"—defector, *émigré*, and Western—documents and studies. The text consists of 522 pages, the apparatus of 111: appendixes, bibliography, footnotes, and index. The appendixes include an analysis of casualty figures, lists of Politburo and Central Committee members, quoted matter from Lenin's "Will" and the RSFSR Criminal Codex, and brief surveys of the growth of the Soviet secret police and of pre-purge trials. The text devotes about five times the space that John A. Armstrong's fine study of the 1934–1960 period, *The Politics of Totalitarianism*, was able to give to the five years from the murder of S. M. Kirov to the ending of the purge in 1939.

Conquest begins with a chapter dealing with Stalin's rise to power and another with his purges before Kirov's murder. The general outline of the subsequent events has been known for some time. Stalin decided to have his lieutenant in Leningrad, Kirov, murdered and to blame the Left opposition. (This decision led to complexities baffling to less devious minds. For example, Stalin's instrument, Vyshinsky, attacked the "utter baseness and loathsomeness" of Zinoviev's expression of sorrow at Kirov's death, sneering, "the miscreant, the murderer, mourns over his victim!" Thus the real murderer's mouthpiece vilified the man who had been with deliberate falsity accused of the murder by the real murderer for regretting the death of the murdered man.) Countless arrests followed; then there was an interlude of a little over a year. In August 1936 came the trial of the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite Center." Zinoviev and Kamenev, the two chief defendants, had finally agreed to confess after obtaining Stalin's promise of their lives and those of their supporters and families. The promise was broken; Stalin choked with laughter when NKVD agents later enacted the scene of Zinoviev's being dragged, screaming of his betrayal, to execution. In January 1937 another trial of the Left was held, featuring only second-level figures such as Piatakov. In the February–March plenum of the CC there was an effort to stop the purge; Stalin defeated it. In June the generals were suddenly liquidated without being tried. In March 1938 came the biggest trial, that of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites"; the chief figures were Bukharin and Rykov, but there were a number of other prominent men including Rakovsky, Krestinsky, and Yagoda. After Yezhov, Yagoda's successor as chief of the secret police, disappeared in February 1939 and the eighteenth Party Congress was held in March, the purge tapered off, even though its last executions came as late as August 1941. Of the delegates to the Congress, only 2 per cent had been such at the seventeenth Congress in 1934. An estimated eight million had been arrested, of whom perhaps one million were executed and two million died in camp; a minimum of twenty million died as a result of Stalin's peacetime measures from 1930 to 1953.

In dealing with death and human suffering of such magnitude, not to mention falsification on a scale perhaps unequalled in world history in millions of fraudulent dossiers, the writer is called upon for almost inhuman effort in order to retain his bearings, let alone to refrain from distortion and bias. Conquest's response to the challenge does him great credit. He has given Stalin his due in discussing his character, beliefs, and abilities. He resists the temptation to minimize the weaknesses and even misdeeds of the defendants in the trials, while

exculpating them of the crimes with which Stalin falsely charged them. He does not turn the endless horrors he chronicles into an indictment of Russia or even of Communism, and he ends with a rather mild plea that Russians "freely and fully investigate" the purge. He even abstains from lengthy reminders of the myriads of deluded Western writers, Communist and non-Communist, who scorned the clear evidence of Stalin's terror on the a priori grounds that "anti-Communist" or cold war reports could not be true—until Stalin's successors themselves admitted part of the truth.

Keeping moral judgment at a minimum, Conquest also is cautious with at least the more speculative aspects of analysis. There are judicious pages on the psychology of confession, many comments on Stalin's skillful use of his perception of what other people, especially Westerners, would believe: they would swallow the transparently false story of the plots of which the purge defendants were accused and the notion that there were freedom and no anti-Semitism in the USSR, but they would not believe that he himself had ordered Kirov killed. He shows the high probability that a Western response different from widespread credulity might have limited the scope and duration of the purge, since Stalin did release Victor Serge, for example, under direct Western pressure. He notes that, when the Yezhov era was over, Beria retained the basic system of terror, simply applying it more sparingly and with less disruptive effect. However, he does not adduce from his evidence any new conceptualization of Stalin's power or the Soviet system, and perhaps such efforts are better reserved for other occasions.

For the most part his documentation is specified, and its limitations are indicated. A few slips are to be noted: the Samoyeds are not cannibals; Chkalov did not fly to Falkland, Oregon, but rather to Portland; the important date of the shooting of Rudzutak and others is given as July 1937 instead of July 1938. A number of names (especially of Westerners) are misspelled. No doubt other scholars may occasionally interpret some of the evidence differently, but on the whole this is an impressive performance that is likely to stand unequalled for years to come.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

IL POTERE IN RUSSIA: DA STALIN A BREZHNEV. By *Arrigo Levi*. [La specola contemporanea.] (2d ed.; Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 1967. Pp. 740. L. 5,000.)

THIS study of the Soviet political system and scene from the death of Stalin until the fall of 1967 is an enlarged and expanded edition of a highly successful volume published in December 1965. The author has the kind of international background that most foreign correspondents now possess: he was born in Modena in 1926, was educated in Buenos Aires and Bologna, worked in London for the BBC and as a correspondent for the *Gassetta del Popolo*, served in Moscow as a correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*, and is now a commentator on television.

Levi believes that the Soviet Union is passing from totalitarianism to au-

thoritarianism, as absolute monarchy was transformed into enlightened despotism, with violent revolution a possibility in the last third of the twentieth century as it was at the end of the eighteenth century. The basic problem for Russia is that society is evolving, while the Communist party is not and perhaps cannot, except by reverting again to the collegial system of rule as it did from 1953 until 1957. But the collegial system affects only the top of the party and is almost certainly only a temporary device.

If the party can become pragmatic, elastic, and pluralistic, Levi believes, it may be able to establish effective relationships with the society and to resolve the growing problems created by changes within society. If not, an explosion, or a series of explosions, is likely.

Il Potere in Russia reflects careful study of the Soviet press, especially *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*, and of the main Western journals that concentrate on the Soviet Union. Levi's several years' residence in Moscow gave him a perceptive understanding of the realities of Soviet life, so that his comments on the availability of consumer goods and services are illustrated by descriptions of efforts to purchase ordinary household goods in GUM or in *Detskii Mir*. His account of unrest among intellectuals is obviously strengthened by interviews he was given, and his profile of Khrushchev also benefits from personal observation and some conversations.

The book is particularly impressive in its description of economic and cultural change in the Soviet Union, which he watched closely. He presents considerable information and insight concerning unrest among the intellectuals and concerning the fascinating struggle between some intellectuals and the more conservative party leaders. According to Levi, Khrushchev was even considering abolition of censorship in the fall of 1962, but his speech of March 18, 1963, turned firmly in the other direction.

Levi's book is more a mine of information than an analysis. It has a very useful eleven-page chronology for the period from 1953 through July 1967, but it lacks a bibliography and, above all, an index. It pays no attention whatsoever to the armed forces and their role, to the new weaponry and its impact, or to the important changes in ideology introduced by Khrushchev, especially in 1956. Even more remarkable, the volume concentrates so heavily on internal developments that the international Communist movement, including even the Italian party and the flow of international politics, is neglected. Above all, Eastern Europe is ignored, although the influence it has exerted on Soviet intellectual life is considerable. The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia alone demonstrate that Soviet life and the Soviet party are not isolated and that analysts must consider Eastern Europe when describing developments within the Soviet Union.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

SOVIET LEADERS. Edited by *George W. Simmonds*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1967. Pp. x, 405. \$10.00.)

OUTSIDE of the more abstruse works of Kremlinology and the field of literary studies, there has been relatively little interest among outside scholars in in-

dividual Soviet leaders below the topmost political level. Short of purely dictionary works, the present collection of biographical sketches edited by Professor Simmonds of Elmira College represents the first substantial effort at the individual assessment of the lesser Soviet leadership since Walter Duranty's *The Politburo* back in the Stalin era. The new volume has a rather different emphasis, with extended attention to leaders in the military, economics, and science whose full records are not easily accessible in any other source, plus a number of the more familiar literary men.

Professor Grey Hodnett of Columbia has contributed the lion's share of the political sketches—Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny, Shelest, and Suslov, along with the economic administrators Vladimir Novikov and Dimitri Ustinov. The sources are standard, and there are no surprises although the common career denominator of precipitous rise to replace the purge victims of the 1930's becomes very clear.

Robert Slusser of Johns Hopkins handles the police leaders Shelepin and Semichastny (the one now down and the other out), along with the chief military commissar Yepishev. He also ably covers the representatives of the nonliterary arts—Gerasimov in painting, Neizvestny in sculpture, and Shostakovich in music.

The military (three successive Ministers of Defense, Zhukov, Malinovsky, and Grechko, plus the chief of staff Zakharov, the rocket chief Krylov, and the air force chief Vershinin) and the diplomats (Gromyko, Kuznetsov, and Zorin) are summarized by Severyn Bialer of Columbia. In these sections there are a somewhat more speculative touch and a slightly sharper tone than the detached chronicling of most of the volume.

Space permits only a catalogue of the other contributions: Khrushchev by Myron Rush; Mikoyan by Kermit McKenzie; the reform jurist Strogovich by John Hazard; the reform economists Kantorovich and Liberman by Robert Stuart; the nuclear physicists Blokhintsev, Kapitsa, and Landau and the freedom-championing chemist Semyonov by Albert Parry; the theoretical physicist Fock by Siegfried Müller-Markus; the official philosopher Konstantinov by Richard De George; the well-known Stalinist biologist Lysenko by Maxim Mikulak. The final section lies largely in the area of literary criticism, with good though familiar essays on Solzhenitsyn, Yevtushenko, and a half-dozen other leading literary figures. Somehow no woman was included, nor any historian.

Two points of a methodological nature stand out in this volume. One is the skill with which the contributors have drawn on standard, primarily Soviet sources to compile readable and comprehensive accounts of each individual. The other is how dimly the individual personality comes through, especially for the political and administrative people. This cannot be the fault of the authors as much as it is of the sources and in fact of the whole totalitarian milieu in which their subjects have risen to power and influence.

University of Vermont

ROBERT V. DANIELS

Near East

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF IRAN. Volume I, THE LAND OF IRAN. Edited by *W. B. Fisher*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 783. \$12.50.)

BEFORE flashing back to prehistory and antiquity, this series devotes the first of its eight volumes to the land and people of Iran. The picture thus given of the physical and human geography of the country, of its flora, fauna, anthropology, and economic activity, is both vast in scope and revealing in detail. Naturally such a volume, the work of many hands, contains a number of "ologies" and "aphies" well beyond a layman's competence—from geology, geomorphology, and hydrography to zoo-geography and ornithology—but even he can tell that the authors write with authority; nor can he fail to be impressed with the mass of information these studies convey.

Of most interest to historians are Part Two, "The People," and Part Three, "Economic Life." The former contains an essay on "Early Man in Iran" and another on present-day "Population," but its most valuable contribution is the long and illuminating article on "Geography of Settlement," by Xavier de Planhol, which is based on an intensive study of both terrain and historical sources. The third part has a wider scope, as may be seen from its chapter list: "Minerals"; "Industrial Activities"; "Communications, Transport, Retail Trade and Services"; "Agriculture"; "Water Use in North-East Iran"; "Pastoralism, Nomadism and Social Anthropology"; and "Land Reform." Of outstanding interest are A. Melamid's contribution on "Communications," that of H. Bowen-Jones on "Agriculture," and of K. S. McLachlan on "Land Reform." Mention should also be made of the interesting introductory and concluding essays by the editor, on the "Physical Geography" and "Personality of Iran."

Of course there is room for criticism. Some of the French contributions have been awkwardly translated. The chapter on industry could have used the more global and up-to-date figures published by the Ministry of National Economy and other agencies. The tantalizing graph on page 471 seems to have the wrong scale and implies that population in 1740 was equal to that in 1960! And the discussion, in the concluding chapter, of the influence of environmental factors upon the nature and evolution of society in general is unduly long. These are, however, small blemishes in an excellent piece of work. The editors and Cambridge University Press deserve congratulations, and the National Iranian Oil Company should be thanked for the subsidy that made this fine book available at a moderate price. The remaining volumes are eagerly anticipated.

Columbia University

CHARLES ISSAWI

THE LETTERS AND PAPERS OF CHAIM WEIZMANN. Series A, LETTERS. Volume I, SUMMER 1885–29 OCTOBER 1902. Edited by *Leonard Stein* in collaboration with *Gedalia Yagev*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xlii, 447. \$8.75.)

LLOYD George used to insist that the most effective statesmen at the Paris Peace Conference were Venizelos, Masaryk, and Weizmann. Perhaps Weizmann's ac-

complishments were the most noteworthy of the three, for he represented a people whose national credentials were least understood in the twentieth century. In his own lifetime, nevertheless, this Russian-born Jew, a reader in chemistry at the University of Manchester, played the critical role in eliciting the Balfour Declaration from the British War Cabinet in 1917, and in assuring the incorporation of that declaration into the San Remo mandatory award of 1920. Thereafter, for the next twenty-five years, he served as Zionism's brilliantly persuasive advocate in the councils of nations. His election as first President of the republic of Israel in 1948 was the one appropriate tribute his people could bestow upon him.

The present volume, the first of twenty or more to follow, presumably sets the tone for the series. The letters themselves have been culled with remarkable assiduity from private and public correspondents, or from their estates, in many parts of the world. It is an insight into Weizmann's linguistic virtuosity and into the universality of the Zionist movement itself that the recovered documents are here translated from Yiddish, Hebrew, Russian, German, and French (in later years Weizmann would master English with equal thoroughness and exactitude). The 230 letters cover the years of youth and early manhood, ending in 1902 before Weizmann reached his twenty-eighth birthday, well before he became a public figure in Jewish diplomacy.

Even this early, however, one sees prefigurations of the later statesman: passionately committed to the cause of his people's national rebirth; selflessly immersed in the political affairs of the first Zionist Congresses; loyally advocating the ideals of his beloved mentor, Ahad Ha'Am, the "Mazzini" of Jewish nationalism, whose abiding emphasis remained the cultural regeneration of the entire Jewish people, rather than the pursuit of Herzl's visionary schemes for an autonomous Jewish commonwealth under Ottoman sovereignty. Although a fledgling among the Zionist political figures of the time, Weizmann intuitively sensed that it was his mission to bridge the gap between cultural and political Zionism. The measure of his success was his pioneering effort in the cause of the "Fraction," the first of Zionism's many political parties, this one devoted to a cultural renaissance throughout the Jewish world, and in persuading Herzl to accept the idea of a Jewish university as a legitimate Zionist goal. It was in some ways ironic that this devoutly Hebraic protégé of Ahad Ha'Am should ultimately excel Herzl in the latter's diplomatic game of winning political status for a Jewish national home in Palestine.

One may cavil at the elaborate and pedantic underbrush of footnotes cluttering this volume, the tedious and redundant cross references to quite trivial visits and exchanges of regards. But perhaps so pretentious a display of scholarly meticulousness is intrusive mainly by comparison with Leonard Stein's lucid and penetrating introduction.

George Washington University

HOWARD M. SACHAR

NEITHER TO LAUGH NOR TO WEEP: A MEMOIR OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE. By *Abraham H. Hartunian*. Translated from the original Armenian manuscripts by *Vartan Hartunian*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1968. Pp. 206. \$7.50.)

THERE are already many books on genocide, nearly all dealing with the Nazi attempt to obliterate the Jews in Europe, but very little is written or published on the first genocide of the century, the Turkish attempt to destroy the Armenian people during World War I. This hideous crime was so meticulously planned and so methodically consummated by its perpetrators that of some 1,500,000 Armenians then living in Turkey, close to 1,000,000 were massacred, starved, and put to death under circumstances of indescribable barbarity. This *Memoir*, written by a minister in the Armenian Evangelical Church who owed his survival to American missionaries, provides an eyewitness account of the uprooting and deportation, the attendant horrors and cruelties, and the wholesale massacre of helpless and innocent people.

The book is in three parts: Part One covers events up to 1914; Part Two is devoted to the war years, 1914-1918; Part Three deals with the postwar years, 1919-1922. There are no table of contents, no chapter headings, and no index. The two sketch maps show the deportation routes and the sites of the massacres. The translation by the author's son, also a Protestant minister, is just adequate.

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

THE UN AND THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, 1967. By *Arthur Lall*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 322. \$10.00.)

ARTHUR Lall, for many years India's ambassador to the United Nations, here provides a thorough and useful compendium of the peacemaking efforts that the world organization engaged in during the 1967 Middle East crisis. Despite the withdrawal of the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) from Sinai and 'Aqaba at President Nasser's request, which deprived the UN of a physical presence in the area, its importance as a mediating body cannot be overemphasized. Not only did it achieve a truce, but for most of the year it was the sole platform for positive efforts toward an over-all settlement.

The author's description of the often tortuous process by which a consensus was achieved in the Security Council through the adoption of Resolution 242 on November 22, 1967, is masterful. It is regrettable that it is unaccompanied by serious analysis either of the crisis itself or of the performance of member states in response. One looks in vain for new insights into the nature of international arbitration or for clues to national behavior that might be applicable in future crises. The good gray neutrality of the trained international civil servant shines from every page. The cool skill of negotiators like Lord Caradon and Max Jakobson is described, but one misses the slash of debate reported verbatim in the UN's own documentary records for the period.

In his last chapter Lall allows himself to make a few guarded prognostications. He feels that Resolution 242 needs only to be implemented to provide the key to peace in the Middle East and notes that an arms limitation agreement would

release funds for development particularly on the Arab side. The trend of world opinion since the book was written tends to support his contention that international pressures will in time bring an Arab-Israeli *Pax Romana*. In this context Lall's proposal for parallel peace treaties, which would obviate the need for immediate direct negotiations between the two protagonists, has real merit. Unfortunately his conclusion that "never was the prospect for peace in the Middle East brighter than at the beginning of 1968" is not merely outpaced by events but unrealistic. The collective efforts of all member states to bring peace to the area are doomed to fail unless either the urgency of Palestine can be communicated to them in terms of action or Israeli and Arab commandos alike can willingly accept international arbitration as the true basis for a settlement. Lall offers us a text, but no blueprint, for this.

Florida State University

WILLIAM SPENCER

Africa

REBELS IN THE RIF: ABD EL KRIM AND THE RIF REBELLION. By David S. Woolman. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 257. \$6.95.)

THIS volume fills a gap in the English-speaking world's knowledge of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. The author, a free-lance journalist and on-and-off long-time resident of Tangier, searched the printed literature in Spanish, French, and English to produce this exciting and fair-minded account.

After a running start in which the land, the people, and the politics of the recent past are studied, the author narrates the Riff rebellion. He finds that Abd-el-Krim's great talent brought unity to the tribes. His virtue lay in the fact that he worked within the tribal framework for a larger cause. He never over-mobilized, and he made sure the tribesmen had time to harvest their crops. In short, Abd-el-Krim emerges as a genius in organizing dissident elements. On the other side stood the Spanish, brave but tired, dogged in the struggle yet poor in resources, not certain that the game was worth the price. These chapters on the rebellion are told extremely well. Woolman knows the warriors and the battleground. His trained journalistic eye catches the color patches; at the same time he refuses to choose sides. At the end, in 1926, a large number of French and Spanish regulars prevailed over the smaller, more skillful guerrilla force. He judges that the Riff independence movement had a good chance before the French intervened.

A final chapter reminds us that Abd-el-Krim's exploits remained as a symbol for those who later fought against European domination. Riffian autonomy yielded, as did Franco-Spanish protectors, to Moroccan independence. In the new order the Riffs constitute no more than 7 per cent of the population. Even so, it is not likely that they will be easily assimilated into the larger unity. One may reflect after reading this book that the agonizing lesson of the Riff struggle could have been a useful study for Great Power statesmen and their

financial and military advisers. Had the lesson been learned, fewer costly surprises would have come out of areas like Northwest Africa and Southeast Asia.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

WEST AFRICA UNDER COLONIAL RULE. By *Michael Crowder*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 540. \$10.00.)

KAMERUN UNTER DEUTSCHER KOLONIALHERRSCHAFT: STUDIEN. Volume II. Edited by *Helmuth Stoecker*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 12.] (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. 1968. Pp. 272. DM 35.)

AFTER a brief survey of the earlier nineteenth century, Professor Crowder begins his account of West African history with the early 1880's, where Hargreaves' equally excellent *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa* leaves off, and carries it down to World War II, which he sees as the decisive turning point toward decolonization. The focus is clearly on Africa: Relatively little emphasis is placed on the European diplomacy of the "Scramble" and on mother country politics and its influence on the evolution of colonial policies. French and British West Africa receive equal attention; Togoland under German rule is dealt with briefly, on the basis of English and French sources, while Liberia and Portuguese Guinea are excluded from consideration. Perhaps this is unfortunate in the case of Liberia, which might have offered the author an opportunity to test his thesis that West Africa was capable of modernizing its societies and of integrating them into the world community without European political intervention.

The work represents a magnificent feat of synthesis. The author has a masterful command of the extensive English and French literature on his subject and has brilliantly managed the difficult task of discussing colonial administration without either getting lost in the infinite detail of specific legislation or similar things or confining himself to generalizations too broad to be meaningful. Concerning the various aspects of the colonial dilemma, Crowder gives particularly thoughtful consideration to the problems of colonial economics, especially in its agricultural dimension, and to education. Much is fresh and provocative in the author's appraisals, especially in his sections on French West Africa, which constitute clearly the best over-all treatment of that area yet available in English.

Two theses run through the account: One, mentioned above, holds that West Africa had the capacity to modernize itself relatively rapidly, but it is not convincing to me. Crowder's examples for this contention (Opobo, Abeokuta, and others) are rather small, atypical societies in which, moreover, European influence was strong before political power passed to the colonizers. His second contention, that European colonial rulers, perhaps with the exception of the Germans in Togo, did very little to modernize the area and even impeded spontaneous modernization, especially through the peculiar development of the British conception of Indirect Rule, while it seems partly to conflict with the first, is certainly much better documented. In the author's view Europe's main contribution to modernization was made during the period of decolonization following World War II, a period characterized by vastly accelerated capital investment and educational efforts.

Crowder has made a major contribution to African history, which at this stage urgently needs such works of synthesis. *West Africa under Colonial Rule* is likely to remain authoritative for a long time. Future editions might well include a bibliography and additional maps.

The Cameroons, not included in Crowder's survey, is dealt with in the four papers edited by Helmuth Stoecker that make up the second volume of *Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft*. All of them concern themselves with the more disreputable aspects of German colonial activity in this territory. Rudi Kaeselitz writes on "Colonial Conquest and Resistance in the South Cameroons," Stoecker, Hertmut Mehls, and Ellen Mehls on the conquest of the northeast of the colony, Johanda Ballhaus on the concession companies, and Adolf Rüger on the relations and conflicts between the colonizers and the Dualas. Based almost exclusively on the archives of the German Colonial Office, this volume merely adds faultlessly documented details to Harry R. Rudin's old study, *The Germans in the Cameroons*, which is nowhere mentioned. The intellectual isolation of East Germany's historians is illustrated by the fact that the only Western (and, for that matter, non-German) works cited in the volume are Urvoy's history of Bornu, the British blue book on German atrocities in Africa of 1916, and a few contributions by Cameroonians, which, however, were obviously insufficient to give the authors a perspective on the Africa of the period they describe. The general tone and outlook of the book is epitomized by Rüger's almost indignant description of Chief Manga Bell as a "reformist," who "did not wish to create a militant mass movement." In the Cameroons in 1902! There is no doubt that valuable contributions to colonial history can be made from a Marxist perspective. This, however, is not even particularly good Marxism.

University of Vermont

WOLFE W. SCHMOKEL

ASPECTS OF CENTRAL AFRICAN HISTORY. Edited by T. O. Ranger.
[Third World Histories.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.
1968. Pp. xv, 291. \$7.95.)

A HISTORY OF CENTRAL AFRICA. By P. E. N. Tindall. (New York:
Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. 348. \$7.50.)

THE differences between these two books are vast—in approach, in quantity and quality of interpretation, and in scope. Broadly viewed, the subject matter is almost the same. The contrast is basically between the "new" African history, now standard for professional historians of Africa (Ranger *et al.*), and the old (Tindall).

Part of the distinction between the two approaches is geographical. Ranger and his coauthors define "Central Africa" as including Congo-Kinshasa and Angola (though not Mozambique), as well as Zambia, Malawi, and Rhodesia. This delineation follows African historical and cultural traditions and contrasts with Tindall's view of "Central Africa" in the narrower, British political terms of the Central African Federation of 1953–1963.

These books should be complementary. Ranger states that *Aspects of Central African History* will give the "specifically African side" of the history; it is meant to be a "corrective and supplement to more conventionally planned texts."

And this book of ten chapters written by seven members of the history department at University College, Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania), succeeds admirably. Frankly a synthesis of available material, it will be valuable and stimulating for a wider, if definitely intermediate, audience than the teachers in Tanzania, for whom it was commissioned by the Ministry of Education there. No other volume makes the latest findings and interpretations so accessible. From chapters on "The Mutapa and Malawi Political Systems" and "The Rise of the Congolese State Systems," the book moves through "European Activity and African Reaction in Angola"; three chapters on the nineteenth century in Zambia, Malawi, and Southern Rhodesia; to four chapters on twentieth-century politics in Zambia, Malawi, Southern Rhodesia, and Congo-Kinshasa. What unevenness there is may bother the specialist, but only him; it comes less from differences in approach than from the fact that some contributions "are summaries of work produced by other scholars; others are summaries of work produced by the authors themselves; others are the first publication of the results of original research."

Throughout the book important questions are repeatedly raised: "How did various African societies react to missionaries? Why did resistant societies resist and why did co-operating societies co-operate? What is the relationship of nineteenth century experiences to the rise of twentieth century nationalism . . . ?" And there are others. In keeping with this orientation, the book has two indexes, adding one of "Themes" to the usual one of names.

Tindall's purpose is less clear; she says simply that she will "outline the history of a large area, generally referred to as Central Africa." She sees in this area both geographic and historical unity—a unity of a century of "similar influences" followed by British rule in one form or another. She knows that a history of this region must include the African dimension, and she begins with a synthetic treatment of "The Iron Age c. A.D. 100 to 1500" and later includes two chapters that are wholly African: "Central Africa before the Mid-19th Century," and a general ethnographic chapter. Unfortunately, even in these treatments some long-since abandoned views appear (the "Hamitic people" as a "race"; the hypothesis of Egyptian origins for Rozwi kingship).

She clearly feels more at home with European materials, and the remaining seventeen chapters have that orientation. A largely narrative account, the book reads at times like a missionary chronicle, at times like a semiofficial account of administrative change. Africans, though dutifully mentioned, are often inserted without sufficient background or explanation, so that the beginner will be lost. Though the maps are plentiful, the reader will follow both them and the text better if he is already familiar with some geography.

None of this is to say that all books on modern African history must be written from what might be called a "pure" African point of view; Professor Ranger and his colleagues do not, and would not, omit all mention of quite important European activities. It is precisely because they do not that their book, despite the editor's statement that it "falls short" of the ideal of a "comprehensive survey," *is* comprehensive, as well as being an excellent "corrective and supplement" to works like that of Mrs. Tindall.

City College of New York

JEAN HERSKOVITS

Asia and the East

CHINESE ALCHEMY: PRELIMINARY STUDIES. By *Nathan Sivin*. [Harvard Monographs in the History of Science.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xxiv, 339. \$15.00.)

IN recent years, largely through the monumental labors of Joseph Needham, there has been a growing realization of how important the Chinese scientific tradition is for the history of science. The broad gap between humanistic, textually oriented Sinologists and linguistically limited historians of science has, however, restricted research on Chinese science and kept most of it at a superficial level. It is, therefore, most encouraging that the first book in an important new series, "Harvard Monographs in the History of Science," is a truly competent investigation into an important branch of Chinese protoscience.

Nathan Sivin is unique among historians of Chinese science in the United States in that he has first-class training in both Sinology and the history of science. It means that he both commands the sources and knows what questions to ask of them—a combination taken for granted in most fields but extremely rare in the history of Chinese science.

As the title indicates, *Chinese Alchemy* is intended as a preliminary, ground clearing, or foundation building study of Chinese alchemy. Probably only the first chapter, "On the Reconstruction of Ancient Chinese Alchemy," is intended for the general reader in the history of science or Sinology. It is one of the most lucid, stimulating discussions of Chinese alchemy in particular and of the history of Chinese science and medicine in general that has yet appeared in English.

The rest of the book consists of a detailed, meticulous investigation and translation of a seventh-century alchemical text, the *Tan ching yao chueh* [Essential Formulas from the Alchemical Classics], attributed to the famous physician and magus Sun Ssu-mo. This text belongs to the tradition of practical laboratory notebooks rather than that of the more speculative cosmological treatises, and it was deliberately chosen so that the actual workings of Chinese alchemy could be examined before going into its elusive Taoist background.

As much as one would like to see broader vistas, both scientific and philosophical, of Chinese alchemy explored, it is scarcely possible to argue with Sivin's choice given the present state of the field. Professor Willy Hartner of the University of Frankfurt remarks in a letter quoted in the foreword, "No other work on Chinese alchemy lays as firm a foundation for further studies." As a foundation, and as a demonstration of the high standards of scholarship demanded to work with the copious but difficult source materials on Chinese science, this book, to quote Hartner again, "marks a milestone in the history of Chinese alchemy"—and in the history of Chinese science in general.

University of Rochester

RALPH C. CROIZIER

CHINA IN CRISIS. Volume I, CHINA'S HERITAGE AND THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL SYSTEM. In two books. Edited by *Ping-ti Ho* and *Tang Tsou*. With a foreword by *Charles U. Daly*. Volume II, CHINA'S POLICIES IN ASIA AND AMERICA'S ALTERNATIVES. Edited by *Tang Tsou*. With a foreword by *Charles U. Daly*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 447; x, 449-803; ix, 484. \$30.00 the set.)

THESE volumes, derived from a February 1967 conference at Chicago, quite rightly approach "China in Crisis" (the over-all title) by way of "China's Heritage" (in Volume I, Book 1, reviewed below) and "the Communist Political System" (mainly in the second volume, which is confusingly called Volume I, Book 2. Is this confusion necessary?). In short, like most Sinology since Ricci, these studies of China have to begin by treating "China" as an entity, the most "other" of all the great cultures. From this customary premise, it is natural that the symposium should begin with a masterly thirty-seven pages by Ping-ti Ho on "Salient Aspects of China's Heritage." This is necessarily a tour de force in the art of generalizing, of the kind that we all get into, except that Ho does it better. Yet the ensuing discussion also shows the weakness of the holistic fallacy (that "China" is an entity) on which Sinology has been based.

Ho begins with the gradual growth of the Chinese realm on both external and internal frontiers, the dense population and its agrarian base, the complexity of the "Confucian" state ideology, including the interaction of Legalism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Neo-Confucianism, and finally the nature of the traditional and modern Chinese state—its founding by military power, its preservation by the emperor cult, the lack of effective institutional checks on imperial absolutism, and the increase of autocracy in early modern times. Noting how the Confucian assumption that men are by nature unequal led to the search for talent through the examination system as an avenue for social mobility, Ho sees a marked historical continuity in the Chinese Communist stress on social transformation through education, small study groups, and thought reform. A similar continuity of economic problems stems from the early modern population explosion, expansion of the private economy, and now its recent take-over by bureaucratic collectivism.

In a long commentary (following those by A. F. Wright, Herbert Franke, and Derk Bodde) Herrlee G. Creel suggests that Ho has overstressed military force and autocratic rule and understressed the traditional Chinese capacity for psychological persuasion and ideological indoctrination as tools of government. Creel cites the Mandate of Heaven theory, uses of elaborate ceremonial, the concern for public opinion and mobility of talent, and the general absorption of the intellectual elite in the business of government—"Government has been the great activity, even the great game; a man's success in government has been the great prize." This, of course, has meant conflict between the individual intellectual and the regime, which has usually been offset by the established role of the able minister, loyal to the ruler but also to principle. But except for the First Emperor of the Ch'in, no Chinese ruler until Mao has "ever tried to eliminate the intellectual class." In reply Ho reasserts his military-autocracy view, but sees mobility increasing in the later dynasties.

These well-informed scholarly essays, unlike the *Adversaria Sinica* polemics

of the 1890's, convey light more than heat yet leave the reader feeling, "Ho is right! . . . No, Creel is right! . . . By gad, both are right!" In other words, Chinese history is now extensive enough to accommodate conflicting generalizations. We know too much to sum it all up. Perhaps the holistic Sinological tradition has run its course, and "China's heritage," like that of "Western Man," must now be left to poetry, encyclopedias, and Time-Life encapsulations. Careful scholarship cannot encompass it. After all, Sinology has been the product of Western ignorance, committed to summarizing all the aspects of a society, state, and culture in a few well-chosen words. This is essentially the Freshman survey approach. Should it not be confined to Freshmen? Why expect leading scholars like Ho and Creel to pull a single Chinese rabbit out of the East Asian historical hat? Scholars who seek conclusions at this level of generality are philosophers-sociologists, not historians. Plainly we must fight off the unity-and-continuity bias in the Chinese historical record and always distinguish Chou-Han from Ming-Ch'ing, just as we distinguish Periclean Athens from Victorian England.

This view is perhaps borne out by the fact that the other contributors, with less ground to cover, can be more definitive. In particular, Kwang-Ching Liu devotes eighty-six pages to "Nineteenth Century China: The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West." Taking a fresh look at the sources, he considers the process of dynastic decline, the mid-century rebellions, the restoration and its limitations, and the problem of "indigenous change and the Western impact"—that is, the reform tradition of the school of statecraft, the efforts at self-strengthening and their failure, and the rise of the reform movement. Liu concludes with a summary of nineteenth-century governmental disintegration and the rise of nationalism. This article is a model of its kind, in many ways the best thing available on the period, partly no doubt because Liu is operating at a feasible level of generality. Comments by Albert Feuerwerker, Philip Kuhn, and Dwight Perkins reinforce the thought that the nineteenth century is now the most manageable era of Chinese history.

Next is a major monograph of sixty pages by C. Martin Wilbur on "Military Separatism and the Process of Reunification under the Nationalist Regime, 1922-1937." The fruit of systematic study, this article suggests "an anatomy of the regional military system," with its territorial bases, finances, arms, and leaders. A section on "factors giving rise to twentieth-century separatism and militarism" offers a further approach and is followed by a careful analysis of how the nationalists found a leader, some ideology, a base, and an army to produce their Northern Expedition. This again is the most sophisticated treatment of the nationalist reunification effort yet available. Comments by Wang Gungwu and Hsu Dau-lin add perspective.

As these articles move beyond the well-documented historical era and into recent decades, they run into problems accordingly. Tang Tsou devotes seventy pages to "Revolution, Reintegration, and Crisis in Communist China: A Framework for Analysis," but much of it is given over to definitions of terms—what is a political community and how is it integrated—and structural problems such as the relationship between "the ruling elite and the masses." Tsou sees the Cultural Revolution disaster as due to "a split . . . between ideological and organizational

authority." As two opinion groups emerged about policy, the ideology became disintegrative instead of integrative. To a historian, "ideology" and the other building blocks of political science analysis may seem a bit mechanistic. Comments are by C. P. Fitzgerald and Jerome A. Cohen.

Benjamin Schwartz contributes a thoughtful essay on "China and the West in the 'Thought of Mao Tse-tung,'" balancing the influence of two Western views of history as moral drama (as in Rousseau) or as cumulative technical-economic progress, both to be found in Marx's synthesis but no longer in Mao. Comments are by Stuart Schram and Donald J. Munro. Chalmers Johnson then concludes the volume with "Chinese Communist Leadership and Mass Response: The Yen-an Period and the Socialist Education Campaign," a comparison of the Chinese Communist party's mass-line indoctrination programs during their close contact with a limited area in the early 1940's and the difficulties that similar efforts have run into in the more difficult and larger terrain of recent years. Comments are by S. Y. Teng. This is a most successful volume, rich in content. It is good that no one tried to sum it up.

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

WESTERN ENTERPRISE IN LATE CH'ING CHINA: A SELECTIVE SURVEY OF JARDINE, MATHESON AND COMPANY'S OPERATIONS, 1842-1895. By *Edward Le Fevour*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 26.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1968. Pp. vii, 215. \$3.50.)

JARDINE, Matheson and Company was a giant among British firms in nineteenth-century China. But its activities as recorded in the immense archive now at Cambridge University have not been as systematically explored as they deserve. Le Fevour's study is, therefore, a welcome addition to those of Michael Greenberg and N. A. Pelcovitz.

What emerges is a broadly chronological narrative of the several avenues through which the firm sought profit and promoted economic development in China. Until the 1870's the firm's trade, most notably in opium, contributed to the rise of a new Chinese commercial class. During the following decades attention shifted from earlier attempts to enlist Chinese capitalists in industrial and banking ventures to sustained efforts at international finance of the kind that interested Hobson and Lenin. Special agents in promising centers of Chinese power granted minor loans to officials in the hope of securing large contracts for major projects. Technical personnel developed mining surveys, railway schemes, and fortification plans partly to demonstrate the firm's serious intentions and partly in anticipation of the signal to go ahead that might descend from the Chinese powers that be. But such elaborate preparations and intricate, confusing negotiations—one agent admitted after five years at the game that he had been in touch with the wrong people—failed to yield the anticipated major development projects that far too frequently went to the firm's competitors.

Unfortunately there is little systematic probing as to what enabled competitors

to succeed, what influenced Chinese officials in their decisions, and what relations the firm maintained with the British government at home and its diplomats in China. True, the firm's correspondence, upon which Le Fevour relies for his survey, does not necessarily discuss these matters at length. But if his conclusion that Western merchants, as exemplified by the firm, cannot be described as "purposively imperialist" is to be convincing, some consideration of these broader problems would seem necessary. Scattered references also reveal certain ambiguities. Even though no statement can be found favoring "an occasional little war" with China, the firm did agree that Chinese success in the war of 1884-1885 with France "would be a calamity to China. . . ." As Le Fevour explains, Chinese defeat would remove an obstacle to its economic development! But in 1886 when Li Hung-chang awarded the contract to fortify Port Arthur to the French, the firm immediately sought to "make matters increasingly warm for Li . . ." by activating the British minister in Peking. One wonders if that nebulous term "imperialist" is what disturbs the conceptual framework of the study.

Memorial University of Newfoundland

HOH-CHEUNG MUI

THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1919-1927. By *Jean Chesneaux*.
Translated from the French by *H. M. Wright*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 574. \$15.00.)

THIS English version of Professor Chesneaux's work contains three main sections: an analysis of the working class in 1919, a description of the labor movement in 1919-1924, and a discussion of the role of the workers in the 1924-1927 revolution. Of the three sections, the least controversial part is the first, where the author discusses the size of the working class, its social origins, working conditions, wages, and standard of living. The data are extremely fragmented, and few of the findings will surprise students of Chinese society. Nevertheless, the author's conscientious effort deserves endorsement.

The same unfortunately cannot be said of the other parts, which bear a clear imprint of political bias; even the sources are politically selected. While Communist interpretations are used as if they were factual statements, the pioneer work by Wilbur and How is lightly dismissed, and the writings of Benjamin I. Schwartz and Robert C. North are not even mentioned. The same partiality is shown in many other ways, one of which is the author's habit of calling the non-militant unions labor finks (*kung tsei*) without any explanation.

Yet another problem concerns the structure of the study. While stressing the role of the Communists, the author chooses not to subject the party to any searching examination. The Chinese Communist party is frequently mentioned, but nowhere analyzed, and the feuds among the Russians in regard to China are not even mentioned. Much space is devoted to strikes and political developments, but we learn very little about the central mechanisms that most immediately caused these events.

Because of the diverse viewpoints, a "bourgeois" reader will inevitably find some of Chesneaux's points hard to follow. But the problem is also to some degree a matter of internal consistency. Many facts recorded by the author do not

seem to agree with his conclusions. We learn, for instance, that nearly all the early Chinese labor leaders were intellectuals, that many unions included employers as well as employees, that considerable solidarity existed among the foremen and the workers, and that at least some employers improved the welfare of their workers. This does not seem to bear out Chesneaux's concept of the class struggle. The problem, of course, is as old as Marx himself, but it still remains. If the workers' class consciousness has to be awakened by men who should be their class enemies, how convincing is the concept of the class struggle?

A distinct but related problem is the concept of individual class. Chesneaux habitually views the gentry, warlords, and capitalists as allies. A fundamental point is how far each of these actually is a class. Men like Feng Yü-hsiang, the "Christian general," with his Spartan way of life, seems to have had little in common with Chang Tso-lin and Wang Chan-yuan, with their harems and medieval pomp. Lumping them all together as warlords does not add to our understanding of the period. While statistics are not available, it is broadly certain that the landowning class moved steadily into the cities after 1905. In the process they first became absentee landlords and then detached themselves from the land. In all probability the landowning class in 1930 was radically different from that in 1900. To treat the gentry as a completely homogeneous group is therefore a gross error. Similarly, the capitalists emerged from many sources, not the least important of which were the compradors, who were a completely new element in the Chinese power structure. To lump all these heterogeneous groups into one class is a procrustean operation.

If the class designation is open to question in these instances, so is the notion that these elements were in some way united in oppressing the masses. As Chesneaux himself notes, the merchants sometimes demonstrated with the students and workers against the government. Even the rich ones—the capitalists—opposed the militarists. Thus they plotted to have the Fengtien warlords driven out of Kiangsu in 1925. To view these antagonistic elements as class allies is to do violence to obvious fact.

Finally, some of the errors found in this book deserve mention. Since Chinese journalism owed its origin to Western enterprise and since the English-language press had a substantial Chinese following, the author is probably wrong in stating that Western newspapers had little impact on the Chinese bourgeoisie. Again, the figure 235,372, which Chesneaux quotes from another source, refers to students who had graduated from new-style schools, but not to students pursuing graduate studies in 1915. Far from indicating the dire poverty of the peasants, the figures Chesneaux quotes on the increase of land rent from one *yuan* to six *yuan* per *mou* around 1907 seem to suggest the opposite; for, how could a peasant, in the absence of major offsetting factors, pay six times more rent if he was destitute? Foreign powers abolished their own postal services in China after 1922, but the Washington Conference did not concern itself with the foreign-dominated Chinese postal service as such. The Tientsin-Pukow railroad did not pass through Honan; nor did the Lincheng incident occur in that province. Chiang Kai-shek, repeatedly called Sun Yat-sen's brother-in-law, did not marry Mrs. Sun's sister until December 1927, almost three years after Sun's death. Any insinuation of

nepotism is therefore misplaced. Wang Shou-hua, the Communist labor chief, was not arrested in the union headquarters on April 12, 1927, but was murdered the previous day. The journal *Chinese Student Monthly* started in 1905, not 1918.

This partial list serves to make a point. One prominent feature of this work is the use Chesneaux made of the archives in China, to which few of his readers have access. Although these sources are mentioned frequently in the footnotes, no part is ever quoted verbatim. One has really no way of knowing how far these sources actually support the author's conclusions, and the known inaccuracies in the book are therefore more ominous than they otherwise would be. But since the archives in China are likely to remain closed in the near future, most scholars are in an unenviable position: they can neither ignore Chesneaux's work nor trust him entirely. They should read this book, but treat it with caution.

Queens College, Flushing, New York

YI C. WANG

MUHAMMAD-QULĪ QUTB SHĀH: FOUNDER OF HAIDARABAD. By
H. K. Sherwani. [Asia Monographs, Number 11.] (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1968. Pp. xii, 150. \$4.25.)

This monograph discusses some cultural and political aspects of the rule of Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1611), a significant ruler of Tilang (a kingdom later known as Golkonda) in the Deccan region of India. There are brief chapters on Muḥammad-Qulī's early years, the building of the city of Hyderabad, his literary and artistic patronage (including some excerpts of the Sultan's own literary talents), and the political problems of the kingdom especially against Mogul incursions.

As a piece of critical historical scholarship, this work has considerable merit. It is well documented and researched, and Dr. Sherwani handles the sources with confidence and skill. There are very few studies of the provincial dynasties in medieval India, and this is a most welcome contribution.

Sherwani's hope that this book will "create an interest in the history of the Deccan among the generality of the historians" is optimistic. Even the general historian of India is likely to have considerable difficulty reading the book. The style is terse, sometimes pedantic, and occasionally there is a tendency to catalogue events or descriptions. It would have been more useful to have the plates opposite the relevant page rather than together in the middle of the book, and some maps would also have aided in the reading. Names, introduced without much background information, also slow down the general historian: "There was a most unnatural rivalry between Murtazā Nizām Shah and his son the Crown Prince Mīrān Husain since his marriage to Bībī Khadijā Sultān, popularly known as Rājā Jiō, sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur." The battle accounts also tend to be rather dull.

This book is, however, clearly a useful contribution, particularly for the historian of medieval India. Sherwani, a scholar of considerable repute, is now engaged in a study of Qutbshāhī history. While we hope that the same excellent standards of scholarship shown here will carry over into his forthcoming work,

it is also hoped that his style of writing will be such as to attract more than the specialist on Indian history.

University of Windsor

J. W. SPELLMAN

PLANTERS AND SPECULATORS: CHINESE AND EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE IN MALAYA, 1786-1921. By *James C. Jackson*. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xix, 312. \$12.00.)

THIS book is essentially a work of geography, and it originated as a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Malaya. It traces the moving frontier of Chinese and European plantation agriculture in Malaya from the early settlement of Singapore to the complete domination achieved by rubber at the end of the First World War. Jackson describes the early efforts of the Chinese to develop gambier, pepper, and tapioca and tries to show why they were more successful at pioneering commercial agriculture than the Europeans who began to cultivate spices, sugar, and coffee. The concluding part is devoted to the spectacular and successful expansion of the European rubber estates, which marked the final transformation of plantation agriculture from a pioneering venture into a highly organized capitalist business.

The story is interesting, and the author relates it with a wealth of factual detail. As a geographer, he emphasizes the geographical factors influencing the development of plantation agriculture in Malaya, and this is perhaps the most illuminating and valuable contribution of the book. Economic and social factors are not overlooked, but as the introduction explains, the book "is more concerned with the effects of social and economic processes on the land than with the processes themselves." This is fair enough, except that crucial parts of the exposition rest on a rather superficial treatment of economic factors. The pioneering methods of the Chinese, the author points out, reflected their interest in quick returns, whereas the Europeans regarded their plantations as long-term sources of income and as an inheritance for their families. Apart from the fact that the author sometimes confuses the return on investment with the total repayment of the initial capital outlay, one suspects that the contrast he emphasizes may more importantly reflect the greater difficulties the Chinese faced in financing plantation agriculture. Again, one would like to know why the European planters were unable to recruit Malay labor and relied instead on Chinese and Indian immigrants. The exclusion of the mass of Malays from the fruits of commercial agriculture finds no place in the book, and yet it was to influence profoundly the country's subsequent history. The book is not, therefore, an economic history of plantation agriculture in Malaya, but rather a geographer's contribution to such a history.

University of Birmingham

DAVID WIGHTMAN

THE FILIPINO REACTION TO AMERICAN RULE, 1901-1913. By *Bonifacio S. Salamanca*. ([Hamden, Conn.:] Shoe String Press. 1968. Pp. 310. \$8.00.)

THIS monograph is an "inquiry into the impact of American civilization on Philippine institutions." It focuses primarily on the "reaction of the Filipino elite" to United States policy and establishes convincingly that by 1901 "there was already an articulate and cohesive group of conservative-nationalists who knew what they wanted and who were experts in the techniques of safeguarding their vested interests." Taft, in his need to establish law and order and in his desire to justify imperialism as altruism, bargained away genuine social reform in order to win the collaboration of this elite.

While demonstrating how "the traditional *caciques*, therefore, remained the dominant social, political, and economic group . . .," the author does not concentrate on the struggle between the radicals and conservatives within the society. Instead of examining the American policy as a critical input in this internal struggle—an input that guaranteed elite hegemony—Dr. Salamanca devotes most of his attention to the interaction between the oligarchy and the Americans in a kind of colonial-*cum*-diplomatic history. The problem with this approach is that it risks being "Americacentric." Virtually all of the author's primary documentation comes from the holdings at Yale and Harvard Universities and the Library of Congress. The Quezon Collection, the T. H. Pardo de Tavera Papers, the holdings of the Philippine National Library and other resources in Manila do not seem to have been used. It is as difficult to write revisionist history from establishment sources as it is to write Philippine history from American sources.

The book seems to be an unrevised Yale Ph.D. thesis; it suffers from a plethora of dissertation footnotes and the lack of an index. Still, despite these caveats, it is well worth reading. Salamanca, through meticulous scholarship, has uncovered much of great interest, especially in the section dealing with the private lack of enthusiasm on the part of Quezon and Osmeña for early independence. He writes with clarity and force.

University of Michigan

DAVID JOEL STEINBERG

LAOS: BUFFER STATE OR BATTLEGROUND. By *Hugh Toye*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 245. \$5.95.)

THE small, landlocked, mountainous kingdom in the heart of Southeast Asia—Laos—is contiguous to Communist China on the north and Communist North Vietnam on the east. Since 1945 Laos has developed into an important entity as a strategically located state between the other countries that share mainland Southeast Asia, and it is this development of the modern problem of Laos as a buffer state that concerns the author.

The account of the emergence of Laos into this important status is related in three periods: the first embraces World War II and the war in Indochina, which saw the dissolution of French power in the Indochinese peninsula and the reappearance of the old conflict between Thailand and Vietnam. The Geneva

Conference in 1954, which ended the war in Indochina, established the kingdom of Laos as a neutral state between Thailand and Vietnam. The second period extends from 1954 to 1961, during which time it became apparent to all that the effort to create a stable neutral Laos had failed. With internal harmony difficult to achieve within the country, the climax came in late 1960 when civil war broke out and was finally ended by an international agreement in 1961. The third period covers another Geneva Conference that endeavored to bring stability to the kingdom by the summer of 1962. Even before the year closed, it appeared that Laos remained divided and that the settlement achieved at the conference table was in jeopardy. The three political factions, in order to progress toward an integrated government, needed to be kept in careful balance, but as these conditions could not be met and as the competitive pressures of Right and Left persisted, the Neutralist position began to crumble. The coalition government broke up, thus bringing eventually the neutralists and the Right Wing under the leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma.

Besides clarifying the recent history of Laos as it impinges on international political events, the author analyzes ethnic composition, the foreign policy of Thailand, the aggressive ambitions of Communist North Vietnam, the Lao nationalist movement that excluded the hill peoples, and the ensuing Pathet Lao rebellion.

It is apparent that the problem of the status of Laos is currently overshadowed by the war in Vietnam. When the Vietnamese conflict ends, it will be necessary to face again the Laotian problem in a fresh endeavor to discover its solution. At that time, in order to have a lasting peace, the dual Thai and Vietnamese interests in the region must be reconciled.

Library of Congress

CECIL HOBBS

THE VOYAGES OF ABEL JANSZON TASMAN. By *Andrew Sharp*.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 375. \$11.25.)

In two previous volumes the author has published source materials on the discovery of the Pacific Islands and the discovery of Australia. This book concentrates on a translation and reproduction of the journal that describes Tasman's famous voyage of discovery of 1642-1643. This journal revealed to the world large parts of the coasts of Tasmania, New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, and New Britain. Tasman was not the sole author of the journal, but he signed it. Professor Sharp prints numerous maps and charts and analyzes in detail their significance and relationships. What sparse biographical information there is available about Tasman is included, and the author describes his early voyages, especially the one of 1639 to the Philippines and the northeast. The valuable experience Tasman gained in exploring unknown waters and facing a multitude of hazards and tedious hardships made him an experienced and resourceful skipper in rough and dangerous waters. The author then summarizes previous exploration in the Australian area and shows why the voyage of 1642-1643 was more ambitious than anything previously attempted. He even prints the instructions of Governor-General Anthony van Diemen and the councilors. The journal itself reveals Tasman

as overcautious and not inclined to include much detailed description of the lands and peoples he discovered. He was not a distinguished analyst or thinker. A useful novelty in this book is the inclusion of the Haalbos-Montanus account of the 1642-1643 voyage. Haalbos, a barber who practiced elementary surgery, wrote more interestingly and with greater penetration than did Tasman. The final part of the book describes Tasman's second great voyage (that of 1644) in which he explored the western side of Cape York beginning near the Gilbert River and sailed westward to the Port Holland area. He failed, unfortunately, to perceive the insular character of the islands dotting the northern coast. The last chapter of the book tells of Tasman's later life and the fact that his voyages were essentially unappreciated because no gold or silver was found, nor a way to reach Chile. "The lands found by him, however, were not in his time a source either of economic profit to his contemporaries or of any great reputation to himself."

The book is scholarly, peppered with too many details, of somewhat antiquarian interest, and beautifully printed by the Oxford Press.

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

THE TYRANNY OF DISTANCE: HOW DISTANCE SHAPED AUSTRALIA'S HISTORY. By *Geoffrey Blainey*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. x, 365. \$6.95.)

DISTANCE and isolation are characteristic of Australia. Pioneers sailed twelve thousand miles to reach an island continent whose coastline stretched another twelve thousand miles. Mr. Blainey proposes that "distance" influenced Australian development as Turner felt that "frontier" influenced United States history. Blainey's theme—that distance was a central and unifying factor—does not really unite the book's three sections. The interpretation is properly sustained only in the first part, which explains how Australia's location in the far Antipodes influenced its growth to 1860. It is not sustained in the second part on the development of transportation from 1860 to the present, nor in the third brief part on how foreign policy developed, particularly in relation to Asia or the "Near North."

Blainey is a superb narrative historian, and his books about Australia's mining industries are classics. This new book first appeared in 1966, and the first part proved most provocative, especially the argument that, because distance made Botany Bay a very expensive site for a penal settlement, there must have been another motive: the establishment of a naval base that would provide timber, naval supplies, and flax. Already Blainey and Professor A. G. L. Shaw are joined in lively debate (*Historical Studies*, XIII (1968), 195-206). This argument was propounded in 1952 by K. M. Dallas. However, Blainey's first four chapters argue that "sea strategy dictated the site of the outposts." The fifth chapter on whaling is excellent, but the sixth on wool and gold follows a well-worn path. He does stress the argument that wool and gold were "feasible exports" since their freight cost was offset by high value. The final chapter on immigration is exciting and stimulating. Edward Gibbon Wakefield is duly recognized. Distance

and "free" migration went hand in hand. The "distance" thesis meant a scarcity of labor in Australia, whereas migration to the United States produced floods that, Blainey stresses, made welfarism impossible. Furthermore, Australia's migration statistics are much smaller than those of the United States because of the high cost of land (thanks to Wakefield) plus the expense of traveling four times as far. Even a shortage of married women developed. The second part, the history of transportation, is interesting and perceptive. Blainey comments on clipper ships, the long voyage "out," and mechanical inventions like railways, steamships, the telegraph, automobiles, and airplanes. Here his narrative skill is at its best. He provides unusual insights on many subjects from refrigeration to blowflies, from the loneliness of the "outback" to the mustering of pack camels by Afghans in the desert areas.

The final chapter produces nothing new and clearly errs in stating that Australia ignored Asia until 1941. Although it reviews Australia's change to a Pacific power, "distance" is not the same factor it was in Australia's early history. Indeed, Blainey fails to underscore the shrinkage of "distance" in the second half of the twentieth century.

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

A HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA. Volume II, NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, 1822-1838. By C. M. H. Clark. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. 364. \$13.50.)

PUBLICATION in 1962 of the first volume of Professor Manning Clark's *History of Australia* provoked fierce controversy, and the comments of reviewers ranged from unbounded enthusiasm to derogatory condemnation. If the present volume proves to be less contentious, it will certainly be no less stimulating. Clark exhibits a very personal, idiosyncratic view of both history and human nature as the struggle between good and evil, and the history of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1822 to 1838 amply lends itself to the elaboration of this theme. During these years the concept of the Australian colonies as penal settlements was first challenged by free settlers and emancipated convicts and in Britain by radical politicians and Whig ministers. Many contemporaries denounced the degrading effects of convictism on the social and moral welfare of colonial communities, though most large landowners and pastoralists in Australia were prepared to pay this price for the economic advantages of cheap convict labor and commissariat expenditure. Controversy also centered round the introduction of free institutions into convict settlements. Demands by emancipists, native Australians, and immigrants for trial by jury, freedom of the press, and an elected assembly as the birthright of Englishmen encountered opposition from colonial Tories and the landed aristocracy. The struggle for these reforms in New South Wales was embittered by the inveterate hostility between exclusives and emancipists over the status of the former convict in society. Here the reformers received support from the Whig governor, Sir Richard Bourke, and to some extent from the Whig government in London after 1830, though

British ministers still felt that it would be impolitic to establish elected assemblies in convict colonies.

Clark adopts a biographical approach to the writing of Australian history and presents a cavalcade of people with various passions and kinds of faith in conflict with the raw environment of a pioneering community. The vivid characterization of the leading personalities and a host of minor figures emphasizes the dramatic qualities of this approach, though the author is unduly preoccupied with the religious convictions of individuals as the motive of human behavior. But the book lacks an analysis of broader issues, and without this background the actors appear larger than the stage and inconsequential actions and trivial details are often given a prominence out of all proportion to their actual significance. Moreover, though the book is based on a wide canvass of sources, it provides little new information, and its framework is largely political, with emphasis on governors and their supporters and critics. The discussion of emigration and land administration is postponed until the next volume, economic development is ignored, and institutional religion is cursorily treated. The author's distinctive views and emphases are matched by a highly individual style of writing. While the narrative is colorful, absorbing, and excitingly captures the mood of the period, some readers will tire of the Biblical metaphors, the quaint phrases, and the passages of purple prose. However irritating at times, the book is an impressive achievement. It is unlikely to become definitive, but, as one man's view of Australian history, it offers a stimulating challenge.

Dalhousie University

PETER BURROUGHS

Americas

MY LIFE WITH HISTORY: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *John D. Hicks*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 366. \$5.95.)

ONE of the most active and influential historians in the United States during the last fifty years has been John D. Hicks.

As he says, he was born with a WASPish background, and his ancestors lived in various parts of the Mississippi Valley. He himself was born in Pickering, Missouri. His father was a Methodist clergyman, and much of his childhood naturally was connected with rural churches, a number of them in Missouri. In his early life his mother destined him for the ministry, but as he grew older he did his own thinking and decided that he wanted to become a teacher. His father's pastorates were mostly in farm communities, and he became intimately familiar with the way of life in these areas. His descriptions of country life, customs, and behavior have the earmark of the expert. When he sat down to write about his youth, his work gives every evidence that he knew well and from experience what he was writing about.

He was educated at country schools, and he began his career as a teacher in rural schoolhouses. Here we have more intimate glimpses of education and the trials and tribulations of a young teacher trying to mold the minds of those whom the local school commissioners had hired him to educate.

His early teaching was done in Wyoming, and then he decided quite naturally,

as a good Methodist, to proceed with his higher education at Northwestern, which was under the sponsorship of that denomination. One of the most valuable phases of his educational experience was a job in the Northwestern library where he was able to earn six hundred dollars a year.

When he graduated from Northwestern, he was no longer as much of a Methodist or a Republican. He was, however, still a "dry" for in his youth the differences between the "drys" and the "wets" were more significant than those between the Republicans and the Democrats.

As he was still eligible to keep his university library job, he continued in Northwestern, though Dean James A. James hoped that he would go to the University of Wisconsin to study under Turner.

Eventually to Wisconsin he went, as war broke out in the fall of 1914, with a stipend of three hundred dollars upon which to live. While there he was most closely associated with Carl Russell Fish, serving as one of his teaching assistants.

After finishing his Ph.D., he obtained a position at Hamline University. His next move was to the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro. He had gotten married and was ready to occupy a series of academic chairs in history at Nebraska, Wisconsin, and California, with several visiting professorships, notably at Cambridge in England. During the course of his academic experiences he proved himself to be an indefatigable writer of books that proved very useful and popular in various types of college classes. As a lecturer to large groups he was notably successful, and his descriptions show how effectively he could make classroom plans and execute them.

He never strayed very far from the Middle West except on his final assignment at the University of California. But by judicious choices of summer session assignments he came to see and know most of the academic climates of the United States. He was particularly active in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and in the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

He was a man whom most people liked. A genuine favorite of the students, he spent much time in working to fulfill their needs. He was a great family man, and his descriptions of some of the problems that academics have in rearing families are very interesting. He has a fascinating way of telling things, and anyone who undertakes to read this book, unless he has no interest whatever in American education, will find it difficult to put down.

Every young teacher and some older ones ought to read this book. They will learn from it a good deal about the art of academic life.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

A HISTORIAN'S PROGRESS. By *Roy F. Nichols*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. ix, 308. \$6.95.)

THOSE of us who are of the same generation as Roy Nichols will have a special and personal interest in this book. We lived through the same events, and we studied, taught, and wrote history in the same climate of opinion that shaped his study, teaching, and writing. Those who are separated from him by one and a

half or two generations will not share a sense of identity and will, I suspect, inflate their egos by concluding that his scholarly work is irrelevant, out of date, and the product of an unsophisticated mind. I have heard such comments on Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., after he published *In Retrospect: The History of a Historian*, a book in many ways similar to this one.

To those scholars of a still later generation who are, or will be, interested in the history of historical scholarship and of the writing of history in the United States between the 1920's and the 1960's, Nichols' autobiographical account of his career will be valuable. If he is not a scholarly Himalayan peak, he looms above the plains in Alpine proportions. His main contribution, the books on political history in the decade prior to the Civil War, brought him the Pulitzer Prize. His peer group elected him President of the American Historical Association. Among other indications of his reputation was his appointment as Pitt Professor in Cambridge University.

Consequently, students of American historiography will find this book useful. In it he analyzes his own books and articles, summarizing contents and telling why and how he did what he did. He specially emphasizes his attempts to apply the methods and ideas of the social or behavioral sciences. Even if one suspects that his account of his use of models may have been superimposed on his method rather than having been the original source of it, his explanations cannot fail to reward anyone examining the impact of the social sciences on the study and writing of history.

Like so many who have won distinction in the field of history, Nichols was seduced, apparently without much resistance, into administrative activities. In his university he served in various capacities, culminating in the position of Dean of the Graduate School. In local historical societies, in national bodies, and in the bureaucracy of the historical profession he was a constant worker in the vineyards, apparently with great success. Unlike most of the scholars who have succumbed to administrative temptations, he continued scholarly work and publication. This fact is a greater distinction than the Pulitzer Prize or other awards.

University of Washington

W. STULL HOLT

THE INDIAN HERITAGE OF AMERICA. By *Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xiii, 384, xiv. \$10.00.)

APPARENTLY intended for nonspecialists, this work is a summary of the ethnology and the history of Indians on the two American continents and in the Caribbean area. Approximately three-quarters of the content is ethnology with eighty-seven pages given to the history of Indian-white relations since A.D. 1500.

The first attempt to summarize the results of anthropological research concerning the native inhabitants of the New World was Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (1917). Wissler's approach was topical with references to particular tribes to illustrate main points. By comparison Mr. Josephy, an editor for *American Heritage*, has written a synopsis of current knowledge, indicating disagreement among authorities, area by area and tribe by tribe.

Several deficiencies stem from this approach. First, the quantity of knowledge accumulated in recent decades makes such a format unsatisfactory, even from the viewpoint of the nonspecialist. Although well written, the content is largely encyclopedic. Second, some of the chapters are quite short, with six pages each on "The Peoples of the Great Basin" and "The Indians of the Plateau," eight pages on "The Native Peoples of California," four and one-half pages on "The Indians of Northern Mexico," and slightly over seven pages on "The Impact of the White Man on the Indians." That only eight pages are given to the conquest of the Indians of Latin America while forty-seven pages summarize the conquest of those in the United States and Canada indicates lack of balance. Third, the use of a narrative style to present a large quantity of information with little analysis, evaluation, or interpretation leaves the problem of digestibility to the reader.

Joseph's book is less satisfactory than Robert Spencer *et al.*, *The Native Americans* (1965). Nine anthropologists, all experts in the cultures they discussed, had a great advantage. Spencer is more precise, more complete in describing cultural phenomena, and just as literary. A good example is the material on birth, child rearing, marriage, divorce, death, and religion among the Navaho found in these two volumes. In regard to religion, Spencer is analytical in explaining why the Navaho could not accept the ghost dance, which was widely practiced on the northern Great Plains. (Moreover, the sources are cited in *The Native Americans*, whereas there are no footnotes in *The Indian Heritage of America*.) In discussing ethnology, Joseph's writing resembles that of a reporter trying to crowd too much information into a prescribed amount of space. The development of crafts among the Navaho, a subject of much general interest, is incorporated in a paragraph primarily concerned with style of dress. Throughout the volume there is much emphasis on social organization and customs that leaves little room for consideration of political aspects. Finally, it is not very helpful to identify prehistoric Indian cultures in reference to Clovis and Folsom points, used on hunting and war equipment, without providing pictorial illustrations. Spencer *et al.* avoided these shortcomings and restricted the scope of their volume to the region north of Panama.

In the portion of the book that treats Indian-white contact, several aspects deserve criticism. First, French activities among the tribes of North America in the seventeenth century get less than one and one-half pages; Nicolet, Hennepin, Marquette, Joliet, LaSalle, and Frontenac are not mentioned; and the writings of Louise P. Kellogg and Grace L. Nute are omitted in the bibliography. Second, it is not established that the Iroquois League had an "indirect influence . . . on the government of the United States as it was constituted in 1789." Third, Joseph's version of Jackson's removal policy is in the "Trail-of-Tears" tradition and ignores the revision of Grant Foreman's interpretation as found in F. Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years* (1962). Fourth, what was "new" about federal Indian policy after the Civil War was not the offering of large annuities in return for peace but the establishing of huge reservations as sanctuaries away from routes of travel onto which Indians had to go to escape extermination by the army and begin preparation for assimilation under missionary influence. The author has not taken full advantage of his bibliography in de-

scribing the "Peace Policy." Fifth, Josephy writes of the years of wardship in terms of a "dictatorship of agents" and says that the Indians were "confined to their reservations—sometimes behind barbed wire." There is no reference to circumstances that prompted close supervision and control; a highly questionable implication prevails that a policy vesting responsibility for the management of Indian affairs in the tribes would have worked as well in the late nineteenth century as in the years of the New Deal.

The book concludes by observing that the Indians of Canada have been as resistant to assimilation as those of the United States. Acculturation is said to be proceeding rapidly on both of the American continents, although complete assimilation seems a very remote prospect.

St. Olaf College

HENRY E. FRITZ

REINTERPRETATION IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY. By *R. Pierce Beaver et al.* Edited by *Jerald C. Brauer*. [Essays in Divinity, Volume V.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 227. \$5.95.)

THIS book is the fifth in a projected eight-volume series dealing with the study of theology and religion in America. This series grew from a number of conferences held at the University of Chicago in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of its Divinity School.

The present volume contains eight essays on the history of religion in America. The writers are prominent church historians, all but one of whom were students of William Warren Sweet or students of Sweet's students. Four of the essays, those by Jerald C. Brauer, Winthrop S. Hudson, Sidney E. Mead, and Martin E. Marty, treat in general terms the subject of interpretation and reinterpretation of American church or religious history. The other four essays by William S. Morris, Frederick Kirschenmann, Robert T. Handy, and R. Pierce Beaver offer new insights on specific topics—Jonathan Edwards, Horace Bushnell, Negro Christianity, and missions.

This volume will be of value to everyone interested in the fields of American religion and culture. The beginning student will appreciate the four general essays for bringing into perspective the scholarship of the past century and a quarter. (Brauer says there was no church history before Robert Baird's contribution in about 1840.) The mature scholar in the field of religion may profit from the studies in depth offered by the essays on specific topics. The general historian of American culture who may not have kept abreast of developments in church history will, perhaps, be impressed with the way in which church historians in the past few years have broken out of the self-imposed isolation of their forebears and have come to make extensive use of secular tools, techniques, and cognate disciplines. Extensive footnotes with each essay greatly enhance the value of the volume.

Collected essays in any cooperative work by a number of different scholars are likely to be uneven in quality and in reader appeal; this volume is no exception. Which of the essays are superior depends largely on the opinion of the reader. I will make no attempt to rate the essays. All have their distinct values, and the

volume as a whole is a worthy contribution to the field of American religious history.

Baylor University

RUFUS B. SPAIN

THE MUSCONETCONG VALLEY OF NEW JERSEY: A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. By *Peter O. Wacker*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 207. \$10.00.)

THIS worthwhile study is well done in terms of analysis of material, organization of content, and evidence of significant original historical research. It is properly termed "a historical geography," and as such it represents an approach to writing history in its relationship to geography that, though not necessarily uncommon, is not nearly as common as it should be for the fuller interpretation of much of our history. That geographers and historians do not always agree is shown in this book, (which has further value) in that it provides an excellent illustration of the worth of localized studies in illuminating the larger interpretation and writing of history.

In 161 pages of actual text, very well illustrated with finely detailed maps, this book covers possibly ten thousand years of the history of the Musconetcong Valley which accommodates a small river of the same name that flows southwesterly into the Delaware. It is typical of the geographical area known as the southern New Jersey Highlands. It was occupied by Indians from prehistoric times to the coming of the early white settlers, and a chapter on the actual geography of the region is followed by one on Indian life and culture, which closely resembled that of southeastern Pennsylvania.

The author then proceeds to discuss chapter by chapter the pioneer agricultural settlement of the region, pioneer agriculture, and the pioneer farmstead. He then moves into the coming of industry in the form of the early charcoal iron industry, other pioneer industries and the growth of industrial communities, and finally markets and transport. One valuable feature of the book is its extensive use of quotations from original sources; these are short but pungent and always applicable. The last chapter is given over to a summary and conclusions involving the evolution of what the author terms "the cultural landscape." In this brief but significant chapter the author pulls together an interpretation of the cultural evolution of the region and relates such things as eighteenth-century highway development to present-day highways.

Not least among the virtues of the book is that, while it is regional history, it constantly keeps the region in perspective as part of the growth of the state and even the nation. The description of an evolving social and economic pattern and its analysis are so pertinent to the growth of American civilization that many sections would apply to most of the Middle Atlantic region as well as New Jersey. This is a very important study, and we should have many more like it to provide a sound foundation for the geographical history of at least the seaboard.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

S. K. STEVENS

WAYWARD PURITANS: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF DEVIANCE. By *Kai T. Erikson*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1966. Pp. xv, 228. \$5.50.)

For those historians who have attempted to deal meaningfully with crime and the punishment of crime in colonial America, this book should be illuminating since it provides a new perspective from which to view the problem. The author's theory is that deviance in society may be an "important condition for preserving the stability of social life." When society identifies new forms of deviance, a "crime wave" results, but since society erects a mechanism for controlling deviance, the amount tends to remain constant over time. Professor Erikson calls his theory that "social groups are likely to experience a relatively stable 'quota' of deviation" a "highly speculative hypothesis." He then argues that his task is not to "test" this hypothesis but "to see if it makes any sense when exposed to the light of actual human experience." This statement tends to confuse the issue since it is difficult to comprehend any other method for testing his hypothesis than by the light of human experience.

In support of his thesis, the author uses seventeenth-century Massachusetts Bay as a case study. A brief background chapter on Puritanism and the early history of Massachusetts Bay leads into an extremely long chapter devoted to the three major "crime waves" of the period: the Antinomian controversy, the Quaker dilemma, and the Salem witchcraft trials. Two brief concluding chapters present statistics on crime in Essex County from 1651 to 1680 and summarize the author's findings.

Erikson's method is open to question since he uses history merely to illustrate his sociological concepts. His suggestion that deviance remains constant over time is at variance with his own facts. Unable to demonstrate his hypothesis of stability based on a "conviction rate" or the volume of crime, he finds it necessary to obtain what he seeks by offering statistics on the number of offenders. It is also difficult to understand how the three "crime waves" discussed by the author lend support to his theory of the constant volume of deviancy. The assumption that "crime waves" are precipitated by social crises is not adequately demonstrated. No crisis was evident in 1656 when the Quaker persecutions began. What the Quaker episode does seem to indicate is that change was occurring in society, that there was a need to find scapegoats, and that a crisis was coming. One may also wonder if it is reasonable to lump together the deviancy of the confirmed Quaker who "invaded" Massachusetts Bay and that of the Puritan who accepted the teachings of the invader?

An absence of clarity is evident in the author's inability to focus on a precise society. What society is shifting or passing through a crisis at a given moment? Is it the society of Boston, of Salem, of Massachusetts Bay, or even of New England? Erikson does not distinguish between the "crime waves" precipitated by a purely local crisis, such as the Antinomian affair or the witchcraft episode, and the colony-wide crisis of the Quakers.

The value of this work is the new frame of reference that may be adopted with profit in future studies. While Erikson has been only moderately successful in his efforts, social historians may put his suggestions to good use in seeking

to understand the problem of crime in more carefully delineated societies of colonial America.

Purdue University, Indianapolis, Indiana

GERALD E. HARTDAGEN

NEW YORK BEGINNINGS: THE COMMERCIAL ORIGINS OF NEW NETHERLAND. By *Thomas J. Condon*. (New York: New York University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 204. \$8.00.)

HITHERTO the history of New Netherland has been based on the assumption that the Dutch West India Company intended to transplant a distinctive Dutch society. With misdirected hindsight, historians have blamed the company for failing to do what was needed to create a well-ordered community and judged it neglectful, oppressive, and opposed to the colonists' interests. Although the company "left behind a country" when it withdrew in 1664, its aims were largely commercial. By delineating those aims and early efforts, Dr. Condon has given us a new emphasis, not really a "new framework" as the dust jacket avers. The book's title is pregnant with meaning, and the story becomes more interesting as it progresses from explanation of the role of private merchants to description of the company's formation and activities and of developments after the 1620's as a more diversified population appeared with interests that varied from those of the company.

The key question is, "What were the Dutch trying to accomplish in New Netherland?" Rather than comparing the beginnings there with those of the English colonies in terms like democracy and religious toleration, Condon has examined the relationships between company and colony in the context of the company's interests scattered over half the world. Yet he indicates that the significance of New York's Dutch period rests upon the similarity of problems that colonists faced everywhere and of their responses to their circumstances as they combined old familiar institutions with the requirements of a new environment.

Because there were strains within the West India Company between merchants interested in trade and politicians interested in empire and because tensions developed between the company and private merchants and between company employees and settlers, the history of New Netherland is one of repeated beginnings—a story of why a society did not take shape. The activity of private merchants "virtually destroyed the agricultural underpinnings" of the organization. And when the company opened the door to the fur trade and to an influx of people struggling for social, economic, and political place, it failed to provide a government adequate to handle the maelstrom of competing interests. Dutch institutions were never rooted firmly enough to endure. The claim that they were extirpated after the English conquest is somewhat exaggerated.

In discussing the role of private merchants during 1609–1623, Condon speculates rather extensively on "possibilities" such as, for example, how the Claesz. Company became interested in trade with New Netherland. His treatment of the founders of the West India Company skirts explicit details save for identifying the principal supporters as rich Hollanders, politically influential mer-

chants, and stock speculators interested in banking and investment as well as trade. On the other hand, his explanation of Van Rensselaer's patroonship as a commercial, not a feudal, venture does not lack particulars.

Footnotes reveal extensive use of primary sources, which are sparse. About 25 per cent of the notes refer to O'Callaghan's *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of . . . New York*; 15 per cent to Van Laer's *Documents Relating to New Netherland . . . in the . . . Huntington Library* and 15 per cent to his *New York State Library Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*. Another 19 per cent refer to Hart's *Prehistory of the New Netherland Company*, Jameson's "William Usselinx" in the *AHA Papers* and his *Narratives of New Netherland*. The publishers have disobliged scholars by following the execrable practice of placing footnotes anywhere but at the bottom of the pages. The index is rudimentary. But Condon has combined good writing with persuasive explanation and a marshaling of proof without overwhelming detail.

University of Akron

DON R. GERLACH

CONGREGATIONAL COMMONWEALTH: CONNECTICUT, 1636-1662.

By *Mary Jeanne Anderson Jones*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 233. \$7.95.)

IN sharp contrast to the flood of materials by distinguished scholars on the foundation and early development of the Massachusetts Bay Colony has been the almost total neglect of the contemporary, neighboring Puritan settlement along the Connecticut River. Early in his career Charles M. Andrews gave Connecticut's three river towns expert but brief attention before turning to broader colonial themes. It has remained for Mrs. Jones to transform a master's thesis into the first significant study focused on Connecticut's years under the Fundamental Orders. In the twenty-three years from 1639 to 1662 the River Colony operated as an independent colony without allegiance to King, Cromwell, Parliament, Massachusetts Bay, or indeed to any outside power except God!

In a brief text of 171 pages the author has compressed a surprising amount of well-selected information about early Connecticut. After brief but perceptive treatment of the English and Massachusetts backgrounds, she presents a detailed analysis of the church-state in the Connecticut Valley, the Fundamental Orders, the legal system, events leading to the Charter of 1662, and the nature of that remarkably generous charter itself.

The main emphasis of the work comes in its careful interpretation of the Fundamental Orders. Scholars have differed as to whether this very brief document deserves the title of "constitution." The author staunchly defends the view that it was a "formal written constitution" that made church and state "virtually synonymous" and joined together the "godly property owners of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield." The author regards with cynicism the colony's reputed liberalism in allowing nonchurch members to vote in town and provincial elections and feels that, in practice, church membership may well have been required. Unfortunately, she presents no conclusive evidence to support this view.

A chapter on law and the courts provides much useful detail on the legal system and touches on some social and economic facets of life. Basically, however, the book must be classified as primarily political and religious in emphasis, and, since this is what the author intended, one can only regret that she did not also deal in depth with social and economic aspects of life. It is to be hoped that, in another study, she will round out the broader picture needed.

The appendix contains three basic documents: the Warwick Patent, the Massachusetts Bay Commission, and the Fundamental Orders. The footnotes are copious and accurate. It is a pleasure to be able to rely implicitly on the accuracy of quotations in the erratic forms of the seventeenth century. The illustrations are limited but good. Within its restricted conceptual scope, this is an excellent book.

University of Connecticut

ALBERT E. VAN DUSEN

A STUDY IN DISSENT: THE WARREN-GERRY CORRESPONDENCE, 1776-1792. Edited with introduction and commentary by *C. Harvey Gardner*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1968. Pp. xxxi, 269. \$15.00.)

THE OTIS FAMILY IN PROVINCIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY MASSACHUSETTS. By *John J. Waters, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1968. Pp. xi, 221. \$6.95.)

WHILE these two books have some similarities, they also have many differences. One comprises the letters from James and Mercy Otis Warren to Elbridge Gerry from March 1776 to December 1792, with interletter commentaries to keep the reader abreast of the activities of the correspondents. The other traces the rise of the Otis family as each generation built on the success of the previous generation. Approximately two-thirds of the book, however, deals with James Otis, Sr., the judge, representative, and councilor, and his sons, particularly James, Jr., of writs of assistance fame.

Scholars, especially those in the hinterlands, will welcome the addition of readily available Warren-Gerry revolutionary correspondence to their libraries. This is a useful collection, especially when read simultaneously with the Warren-Adams letters, although by themselves the Warren-Gerry letters do not give us a very complete picture of events, even with the author's commentaries. Perhaps a complete collection of the Warren papers will eventually be published, but, until that happens, scholars must be content with something less than the best. The title of this book is somewhat misleading, for one might expect the Warrens and Gerry to demonstrate, burn draft cards, and perhaps set up a barricade in a dean's office. Actually, however, these people were dissenting against the British, who attempted to change the *status quo*; much of the correspondence is routine and relates to the conduct of the war, and later the Warrens in particular dissented mainly because they picked the losing side in postwar politics.

From my point of view, the second book on the Otis family must be

judged as disappointing. The author has entered the controversy over whether or not eighteenth-century American society was democratic and has chosen the view of the neoproggressives that, despite a broad franchise, society was dominated by the propertied interests, the elite, the ruling oligarchy. Leading men such as those of the Otis family held their positions through intermarriage with other leading families, through deference, and through the fact that election to office was tantamount to a life tenure that could be passed on to a son. "The people" are practically nonexistent in this account of colonial politics.

But such a "climate of opinion" does not explain colonial Massachusetts. Waters refers to Thomas Hutchinson as "a realpoliticker if ever there was one," and thus it would have been fitting for him to discover what this "realpoliticker" believed about colonial society. Hutchinson was Boston representative and Speaker of the House, 1746-1748, but in 1749 he was defeated by Boston voters. To his friend Israel Williams of Hatfield he wrote: "You have heard my fate. I could make but about 200 votes in near 700. They were the principal inhabitants but you know we are governed not by weight but by numbers." Hutchinson also declared that Boston had always been under the domination of a plebeian party, that Boston and every other town were absolute democracies, that the Boston town meeting was constituted of the "lowest class of the people," that men of character and property shunned these meetings where they were sure to be affronted, and that "anything with the appearance of a man" was a voter. Hutchinson never won a popular election in Boston after 1749, even though he was a "realpoliticker."

Unfortunately for his neoproggressive thesis, Waters also presents evidence that Hutchinson's estimate of the climate of opinion was more valid than his own. He quoted one Otis to another about the "wild democracy" of Massachusetts politics, cited the Hutchinson statement about a plebeian party controlling Boston, constantly used the term "popular party" to describe the pro-American party, and finally declared that each year a man's political post was subject to the approval of a large electorate and that the Otises represented the aims and beliefs of their freemen neighbors. In short, we will understand men such as the Otises when we realize that they functioned successfully in a society governed not by weight but by numbers, where a "realpoliticker" such as Hutchinson could suddenly descend from Speaker to ousted representative.

Michigan State University

ROBERT E. BROWN

QUAKERS AND POLITICS: PENNSYLVANIA, 1681-1726. By Gary B. Nash. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 362. \$8.50.)

THIS book, covering ground explored by Frederick Tolles and Edwin Bronner, provides new details and insights, but does not alter the larger picture. The author proposes to revise the old, laudatory "conventional accounts" of the "Holy Experiment." However, Tolles and Bronner have superseded these and have shown that the Quakers responded much like other colonials to wealth,

status, and political power. Nash goes further in the same direction, portraying the politically ambitious Quaker elite as militant, proud, vain, suspicious, eccentric, vengeful, hungry for power, yet disdainful of authority. In Pennsylvania the lack of a structured society, the easy access to public office, the absence of persecution, and the Quaker tradition of resistance to established government combined to promote private discord and public chaos.

The author has made important contributions to the details of early Pennsylvania politics. His careful study of land records suggests that the authoritarian First Frame of Government of 1682, so contrary to Penn's earlier promises, was dictated by prospective land purchasers who wanted to protect their investment. The Keithian schism grew from hatred of a tax devised by elite Quakers led by Thomas Lloyd. Markham's Frame "represented a conscious tightening of the reins of power by the most affluent and powerful segment of the provincial society" rather than a triumph of popular government.

Nash describes his work as a venture into the "sociology of politics," which may be true, but the dominant theme is economic determinism. The author examines the economic interests of political leaders and analyzes the social structure in terms of wealth. He presents his story chronologically, devoting two hundred pages to the period 1681-1701 and one hundred pages to the 1701-1726 era. Nash writes well and is full of ideas. His book is more persuasive than the evidence warrants, perhaps because the emphasis lies on human frailty. The book will appeal more to the specialist than to the general reader, although the portrayal of the excesses of Quaker politicians in Pennsylvania three centuries ago has relevance for those concerned about the present "Rattle of Rights and Privileges."

Pennsylvania State University

PHILIP S. KLEIN

PACIFISM IN THE UNITED STATES: FROM THE COLONIAL ERA TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By *Peter Brock*. (Princeton, N. J.:

Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 1005. \$18.50.)

RADICAL PACIFISTS IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA. By *Peter Brock*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 298. \$2.95.)

PROFESSOR Brock's scholarly book calls to mind the reviewer who complained that he was asked to comment on "a wheat-stack, not a loaf of bread." Yet, for all its wealth of detail and meticulous research, *Pacifism in the United States* is more limited than its title suggests. First, a relatively small proportion of the book covers the post-Civil War years, while the colonial era is treated largely in terms of the Quaker experience in Pennsylvania. The author also makes it clear that he has not conceived his work as a general history of the peace movement. "Its aim is narrower: to tell the story of the religious groups whose members refused military service on the basis of their objection to war, and of that section of the organized peace movement which from its beginnings in 1815 repudiated all war." Though Brock concedes the difficulty of staying within these bounds, he keeps close to the writings and teachings of that small minority of dedicated believers who espoused an absolute

pacifism. Ideas rather than institutions are stressed; the vague popular desire for peace and hostility to militarism is hardly discussed.

This emphasis, though valid, inhibits consideration of those broad areas in civil-military relations that are treated in books by me and by Walter Millis, for example. Still, Brock's analysis offers more than an antiquarian footnote to history, and it enlightens current concerns. Today's peace activists are reminiscent of the militant nonresistance pacifists before the Civil War. And the Mexican War, like the present fighting in Vietnam, was widely condemned as an unjust struggle. Indeed, there are few issues confronting contemporary pacifists that were not faced by the Quakers and other witnesses for peace two centuries ago.

Early American religious pacifism was rooted in the teachings of George Fox and the Society of Friends in England, and in the beliefs of the Anabaptists and their Mennonite successors in Europe, who called themselves "defenseless Christians." In the New World, Quaker attitudes toward the state differed rather sharply from the nonresistance doctrines of the smaller German peace sects also settled in Pennsylvania. Friends did not regard the state as at best a merely necessary evil, and they participated in the political process. But conflict was probably inevitable between the Quaker policy of peace and fair dealing with the Indians and the growing expansionist, imperial concerns of the non-Quaker majority in William Penn's colony. Moreover, such Quaker radicals as John Woolman pressed upon their fellow Friends the awkward question of whether they could conscientiously pay taxes that would be used for war purposes. Thus some Quakers moved beyond the Mennonites and Dunker Brethren who, though refusing all direct military service, were willing to give Caesar his due in other ways.

The American Revolution, Brock demonstrates, was a time of troubles for pacifists, especially those Friends whose attempts to remain neutral earned them widespread denunciation as tories. In contrast, the decades from 1815 to the Civil War—the period to which the author devotes most of his attention—formed the golden age of the American peace crusade. Pioneers, like the merchant David Dodge, the Reverend Noah Worcester, and, later, William Ladd, founded important peace societies. William Lloyd Garrison and his followers stressed nonresistance and no cooperation with government, while Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith," established the League of Universal Brotherhood as a step toward international cooperation with fellow pacifists in England and France. From these auspicious beginnings the pacifist impulse declined as a result of the conflict of loyalties engendered by the antislavery cause. Religious pacifism never recovered the ground lost in the Civil War, and the re-emerging peace movement of the decade before the First World War was largely nonsectarian in its emphasis and support.

Pacifism's agelong dilemma, and its frequent lapses into compromise, derives from the fact that it is easier for idealistic reformers to condemn imperialist wars abroad than civil, revolutionary, or defensive struggles at home. Moreover, for many of its adherents the peace cause, as Burritt pointed out, was not merely negative. It also required the pacifist to pledge himself against racial

and religious prejudice, political and social injustice, and all forms of man's inhumanity to man. As the slavery question moved toward its climax in the 1850's, even the most absolute nonresistance pacifists, like Garrison, found themselves unable to condemn the violence wrought by John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry. To Adin Ballou, one of the intransigent minority who held fast to peace principles, such an attitude was understandable. But the spectacle of nonresistance men vying "with pro-war men in paying homage to one whom I could regard only as a well-meaning, misguided, unfortunate zealot," was saddening. "As for me," Ballou wrote, "I remained unmoved, except by sorrow for such a deplorable exhibition of mistaken ambition to promote a good end by evil means. . . ."

In view of the considerable number of specialized studies of religious pacifism, as well as more general monographs like Merle Curti's *American Peace Crusade*, Brock's book hardly deserves its jacket encomium of a pioneer, trail-blazing effort. Its most important contribution is its wealth of documented data that summarizes the opposition to military service on the part of individuals whose sacrifices and arguments for the cause of conscience are well told. *Pacifism in the United States* is a valuable, praiseworthy study—the definitive account for the period to 1865. Fortunately, selected portions in the paperback edition make this overly long and expensive book more available to students and the wider public. Libraries and scholars will, however, prefer the complete and unabridged edition.

State University of New York, Albany

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

THE PAPERS OF HENRY LAURENS. Volume I, SEPT. 11, 1746–OCT. 31, 1755. Philip M. Hamer et al., Editors. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Carolina Historical Society. 1968. Pp. xl, 407. \$15.00.)

THESE *Papers* introduce a new type into the company of prominent men whose literary remains are now appearing in sets. Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, as well as their successors of the nineteenth century came to careers in the public service, for which they are chiefly remembered, after apprenticeships in law, a route that has become traditional in America. Laurens came to prominence through commerce, then moved into political and military affairs of provincial South Carolina, and finally arrived at the first rank on the national stage during the Revolution as president of the Continental Congress during the Revolution. His reputation rests on a double foundation: his worldly success as a merchant-planter, reinforced by a second career as a public servant to which quantitative measures of accomplishment cannot be so easily applied. In short, Laurens, like Franklin, varies from the typical. The appearance of the first volume of his papers marks a second step away from the preoccupation with purely "political" careers, which grew out of the constitutional and political construction long dominant in the writing and teaching of the history guild.

Yet Henry Laurens (1724–1792) himself cannot escape being fitted into a type familiar in the planting colonies of eighteenth-century America: the mer-

chant-planter or merchant-planter-politician; the variants are many. This select group acquired wealth in business enterprise (most often mercantile pursuits), planted the great staples like their less affluent neighbors, and very frequently held elective or appointive office. Their threefold roles are often brought under a single heading, "gentry" or "squirearchy." Over the years Laurens became all three—merchant, planter, and politician. The initial volume of his papers, mostly letters, covers the first phase, from his London apprenticeship up to the year 1755 when he had become something of a merchant prince.

Technically the editorial performance is masterly, as would be expected from the experienced hand of Philip Hamer and his associate editor, George Rogers. To begin with, this first volume makes a handsome physical appearance. Presswork and proofreading rate superior. Identifying and explanatory notes are concise, accurate, and astonishingly complete. The editors have chosen to take a middle course between the advocates of complete modernization of the text and those who will accept nothing less than facsimile reproduction. The route along this general level, blazed by Julian Boyd in the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, first of the big contemporary sets, has become standard for subsequent series. Deviations from the "expanded method" are described in the statement on editorial policy in the introduction.

Understandably the papers appear in this edition in chronological sequence, and the effect is magical for scholars who have used those printed in the *South Carolina Magazine of History* beginning with Volume XXVIII, where a certain amount of obfuscation and confusion results from the disorder of the letters and the failure to distinguish between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. For instance, the eleven letters Laurens wrote on July 8, 1747, afford a clear glimpse into the colonial merchant's operations when taken with the papers immediately preceding and following in this edition.

The decision of the editors to select from the mass of Laurens papers may meet disapproval from determined advocates of complete collected works. Yet the wisdom of their decision appears in the illustrative excerpt from the Laurens Waste Book No. A, which is essentially a journal of hour-to-hour business transactions. No reader would plow through 428 pages of dreary minutes recording the sales of 28 pounds of cheese or 130 yards of Irish dowlas to this or that shopkeeper. Such documents, of great interest to economic historians, properly belong in the complete microfilm edition of the Laurens papers maintained by the South Carolina Historical Society, and the editors have rightly excluded such items from the expensive letterpress text. By their preliminary estimate between 50 and 60 per cent of the Laurens papers will be printed in the ten or twelve projected volumes.

The editors have expressly directed their product to the educated reader in the hope of creating some feeling for the age. How fully they will realize their object remains for other volumes to disclose. The documents reproduced in this initial volume assuredly convey a vivid picture of a single but important facet of Laurens' times—colonial mercantile activity. Not only could Laurens write a good letter, now a tart one, now one with a touch of humor; he also had a gift of insight that helped him clamber to the top of the economic pile.

His perceptions carry over to the reader—instinct along with the stuff of colonial mercantile life: the market gluts, relations of merchants to shopkeepers, the system of consignments and “adventures,” the buying frenzies of labor-hungry planters. These details, sharp as the sections cut from a huge picture, highlight the larger canvas which shows the interplay of the great forces of war and politics with the merchant’s calling. Even if these letters are not exactly exciting, the matter is richly rewarding.

Whether or not Laurens is in fact, as the editors affirm, a “forgotten patriot,” which is my single and minor point of disagreement with them, his role in the political and economic world of eighteenth-century America has not had due emphasis. This set will serve as a corrective.

University of Georgia

AUBREY C. LAND

THE DOCTORS WARREN OF BOSTON: FIRST FAMILY OF SURGERY. By *Rhoda Truax*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1968. Pp. xiii, 369. \$7.95.)

RHODA Truax has written an interesting study of the surgical dynasty of Warrens that began with two brothers and ended with the death of the great-great-grandson of one of them. She has divided most of the volume into six biographical “books,” one for each Warren. In each of these sections are several short chapters detailing considerable family history, as the various Warrens were born, grew, were educated, married (except the last one), and entered the stream of professional activity. The end papers contain helpful genealogical data, and the jacket has the appropriate portraits.

Joseph Warren, a pupil of the famous Dr. James Lloyd, built up a large practice in Boston, but by 1775 chose to accept a position of leadership in the revolutionary movement, which ended for him at Bunker Hill. His younger brother John grasped the torch from his late brother, helped found the new Harvard Medical School, and soon became a professor there. The first medical society in Boston was principally his creation. John Collins Warren, his son, completed his studies in Edinburgh, London, and Paris and upon his return became probably the most competent and influential surgeon in Boston. As a founder of the Massachusetts General Hospital and the first to demonstrate publicly the successful use of ether, he earned wide fame. Jonathan Mason Warren, son of the last, acquired knowledge of the latest operative techniques in continental hospitals and introduced them in Boston, especially developments in plastic surgery. The fifth member of the group, J. Collins Warren, inspired by the work of the Austrian and German surgeons, pioneered in antiseptic surgery. Later Collins Warren performed outstanding service for Harvard University in securing funds for the enlargement of the Medical School. Collins’ son John, detouring slightly from the family preoccupation, became a distinguished professor of anatomy at Harvard, where his great constructive work upon an anatomical atlas was interrupted by his untimely death.

A short review cannot do justice to a study that contains much material, is presented in a pleasing style, and evidences a thorough knowledge of the

main currents of medical and surgical advancement. Besides the usual standard works of medical and institutional history and biographies of the principals, Truax has used much unpublished material, to which she alludes in her introduction. One wonders if there has been anywhere such a continual flow of excellence in a single family of doctors. There have been other "surgical" families—the Coopers of England and the Motts of New York, for example—but probably none so numerous in one area for so long. The impact of the Warrens was strong, almost dominant, upon the medical history of Boston. No serious student of American medical history can afford to neglect this study of hereditary and environmental influences that broaden into new fields with each successive generation.

Queens College, Flushing, New York

COURTNEY R. HALL

THE WORKS OF JAMES WILSON. In two volumes. Edited by *Robert Green McCloskey*. [The John Harvard Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. 440; vi, 441-875. \$17.50 the set.)

ROBERT McCloskey's edition of *The Works of James Wilson* makes available the political and constitutional thought of an important, though singularly unhappy founding father. This is surely a welcome acquisition for college and research libraries that do not own the nineteenth-century editions of Wilson's writings. Students of history will also profit from the editor's provocative introduction and from his bibliographical glossary and index. But it must be made clear that the text of these two valuable volumes is no more than a reprint of the 1804 text prepared by Bird Wilson, the son of James Wilson. Thus, the present edition adds nothing by way of documentary comprehensiveness or editorial scholarship that a student of American history could not have turned to over a century and a half ago! This is a disappointment, if not an anomaly, for McCloskey advances crusading claims for the "superiority" of James Wilson as a political thinker over that of any other founding father.

McCloskey claims that Wilson's views "more nearly foreshadowed the actual political future of America than those of any of his celebrated contemporaries" and that he was "the only founding father to essay a general theory of government and law." *The Works of James Wilson*, reprinted here, do not suffice to establish these claims. Since almost three-quarters of the *Works* consists of the "Lectures on Law," it is significant that the editor himself finds these lectures marred by their "assertive method," a compound of "contradictory goals," "imperfect" in logical structure, "cast in an ungainly form"—in short, "a series of classroom addresses hurriedly composed and loosely organized, broken off before completion." The remainder of the *Works*, the "Miscellaneous Papers," consists of an odd assortment of tracts and speeches. McCloskey contends that Wilson was a prophet of simple majoritarian democracy and nationalism as mutually supportive systems. He considers this the *true* vision that "the ideological cleavages spawned by Jefferson and Hamilton" only beclouded! Thus Wilson becomes, in the editor's view, the tragic sacrificial lamb of

America's incurable doublethink. Permanently excluded from "America's Olympus," Wilson serves to illustrate a sad truth to the world: "If a man wants to be remembered he should not forecast the realities of society; he should nourish its myths."

Alas, in this introductory essay, we have at best a new myth. At least two fundamental points, testily toyed with by the editor, invalidate his excessive claims for Wilson's primacy as the greatest early American political thinker and statesman. First, if it is American political theory we want, *The Federalist* and the individual body of writings by Jefferson, by Madison, and by John Adams are vastly more discerning and fruitful expositions of the free institutions Americans hoped to establish than are Wilson's didactic and sometimes pedantic "Lectures on Law." This is not meant to deny that Wilson should be appreciated for his courageous effort to simplify and reduce to essential comparative principles the essence of the American legal and constitutional system. One might even applaud the effort Wilson made to base his political philosophy on the intuitionist "moral sense" of the Scottish school, as he faithfully remembered it from his university lessons in the philosophy of Thomas Reid. But to confuse this *absolutist intuitionism*, as McCloskey does, with a type of "pragmatism" is odd. If pragmatism encourages the application of intelligence to complex issues and disposes its adherents to reasonable attitudes of negotiation and compromise, then Wilson was neither in theory nor in practice commendably "pragmatic."

Second, Wilson's own fatal flaw, his feverish drive for financial speculations and for get-rich-quick methods that were devoid of scrupulous honesty and of a decent regard for public interest—the flaw that brought down on him his tragic, closing days—goes far to explain why he was distrusted in his own time and thenceforth persistently unwelcome in "America's Olympus." Wilson *talked* like a wholehearted majoritarian democrat, to be sure. Indeed, nothing would have served better to make this point about him than to include in this edition his speeches in the Federal Convention (they seem to have been excluded only because the 1804 text of Bird Wilson had no choice in the matter since no records of the debates in the convention had yet been published). But James Wilson's words and deeds—his overtly pure moral principles, his greed to scramble for wealth, power, and station, his thought and conduct—were *worlds* apart. His other great contemporaries, notably Jefferson, Madison, and Adams, were men of character as well as of spoken and written ideals, which does not mean that they were faultless or beyond criticism. Americans, and historians, cannot afford to forget the transcendent reality of character as an elemental force in the history of intellect, as of everything else.

University of Maryland

ADRIENNE KOCH

NAVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume III, AMERICAN THEATRE: DEC. 8, 1775–DEC. 31, 1775; EUROPEAN THEATRE: NOV. 1, 1775–JAN. 31, 1776; AMERICAN THEATRE: JAN.

1, 1776–FEB. 18, 1776. *William Bell Clark*, Editor. With a foreword by *Lyndon B. Johnson* and an introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. (Washington, D. C.: [Navy Department.] 1968. Pp. xxxii, 1486. \$9.75.)

LIKE its predecessors, this third volume of *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* is a treasure chest and a fascinating puzzle. The only criterion for including a document was that it be written within the time period (less than three months in this volume) and have something to do with maritime affairs. The only concession to topicality is the division into American and European theaters. The documents themselves come from everywhere and are arranged in strict chronological order.

For a random example, this volume has twenty-two items in thirteen pages for December 19, 1775, in the American theater. Five are extracts; the rest are complete. They are arranged geographically, north to south, and include everything from gossip private letters to official orders. These documents come from nine different printed collections, two newspapers, two state archives, four different collections in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and the *Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*. Any other date would yield a similar mixed bag.

The researcher will have to do a lot of digging to develop a topic, but the editor has made his task as easy as possible. Besides pulling together into one volume manuscript sources as distant as Marietta, Ohio, from Lorient, France, he has provided an excellent index. Wherever possible, such little annoyances as missing places, dates, and first names are inserted in brackets. Explanatory footnotes and cross references are included, but not overdone. All foreign-language documents are translated.

A one-page summary introduces each of the three sections, tersely noting the major events covered. The American theater saw Montgomery's defeat in Quebec and Washington's continuing siege of Boston, while the European theater was mostly concerned with diplomatic maneuvering, but most of the documents are not concerned with major events. The volume concludes with five appendixes: "Cost of Outfitting Washington's Schooner *Lynch*"; "Entries into the Port of Baltimore, March 13, 1775 to March 16, 1776"; "Maryland Ship *Defence*—Estimated Cost, Dimensions, Inventory"; "Chandlery Supplied to the Continental Fleet" (supplemented by a useful glossary and table of weights); and a photographic reproduction of the disposition of all Royal Navy vessels as of December 1, 1775.

The more than one hundred illustrations are both fascinating and frustrating. They include paintings, drawings, and photographs of men, ships, gear, weapons, cartoons, and maps, but the pictures are often too small and the reproduction process is always too muddy to preserve any detail.

Not only naval historians but all scholars of the period will find these volumes useful. They will also serve as an ideal vehicle for introducing students to historical research. The United States Navy and editor William Bell Clark deserve the highest praise for *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*.

University of Vermont

NEIL R. STOUT

PHINEAS BOND: A STUDY IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1786-1812. By *Joanne Loewe Neel*. [Haney Foundation Series, Publication Number 4.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 192. \$6.00.)

PHINEAS Bond, a loyalist in the American Revolution, returned to his native city of Philadelphia three years after the war was over and served as British consul to the central and southern states until the War of 1812. These difficult years were marked by disputes between the two countries over the peace treaty, the coming of the French Revolution, the Citizen Genêt affair, the Jay Treaty, the embargo, and the renewal of hostilities. Bond's career as consul (with diplomatic responsibilities from time to time) illuminates the stormy relationship between the mother country and its former colonies.

The book is carefully researched and documented, with footnotes at the end of each chapter. The emphasis is on the development of the British consular service in the interwar period, and other subjects are rigorously excluded. The reader might well have been given more information about Bond's activities as a tory or the sharp divisions in Philadelphia society, not merely to provide local color but to help explain conditions that affected his family and the conduct of his business, but Neel sticks to her thesis and concentrates primarily on Bond's relationships with his employers and his clients. The result is a book that will inform and satisfy the specialist, but will have little appeal to the general reader.

When Bond first assumed his official duties, there were just two British consuls in America. When he left there were twelve, eight of them under his command. This growth reflected not only the revival of trade between the two countries, but the need to cope with privateers, convoys, impressment, riots, and other problems. Through it all Bond "became a spy, a policeman, and more than ever a champion of his country's interests." Despite his American upbringing, he never understood democracy or sympathized with the new nation. His career could have been used to tell us something about the pro-British element in Philadelphia, even after the Revolution, but instead it is treated strictly as a study of the consular service, 1786-1812.

Lafayette College

JOHN M. COLEMAN

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION: A REINTERPRETATION OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS. By *Paul Eidelberg*. (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 339. \$6.95.)

THE author has chosen to rework a well-plowed field—the Constitutional Convention and the political thinking of the founding fathers. Submitting the debate on the convention (not the ratifying conventions, which he chooses to ignore) to what he calls a dialectic analysis, he dismisses rather summarily such constitutional interpreters as the historical relativists, the school of economic interpreters (the author regards the founders as men for whom politics was a vocation), as well as the so-called oligarchical and democratic schools.

The author's findings are hardly startling. He discovers the intention of the framers of the Constitution to have been the creation of a "mixed regime" characterized by the contention between democracy and aristocracy and struc-

tured so that the latter operates as a restraint on the "tyranny of democracy." To substantiate this thesis, which occupies the entire book except for introductory and concluding chapters, the author demonstrates how democracy as epitomized by the House of Representatives was made subject to restraints by the other branches of government. He finds such aristocratic restraints in the provisions for the election of senators by the state legislatures, for selection of the President through the indirect device of an Electoral College, and for conferring upon the Supreme Court the power of judicial review (*The Federalist Papers*, Number 49).

Taken as a whole, this book is less a "reinterpretation of the intentions of the Founding Fathers" than a paraphrase of their ideas. It presents a succinct summary of the Federalist political philosophy of a government run by an aristocracy of merit and wealth. By itself the analysis would have point and validity. The author is not, however, content with expanding the underlying ideas of the Convention of 1787, but insists on reminding us how far present-day America has strayed from the intentions of the framers, much to the detriment of the present. Without questioning the relevance to today's world of terms like "aristocracy" and "democracy," without referring to any intervening history, and without recognizing the evolution of American political or psychological values, Eidelberg believes that the tensions between the two eighteenth-century concepts are still omnipresent.

The founding fathers were sagacious statesmen but also realists. If, as Eidelberg maintains, one mark of the perfection of the Constitution was the balance that precluded establishment of factions or political parties, their intentions broke down within a half-dozen years of the convention. If, as the author argues, the Supreme Court was given the power of judicial review in order to avoid the alternative of easy and frequent amendment of the Constitution, which would have made the document a prey to the tyranny of democracy, it should be noted that the First Congress, including numerous framers, hastened to adopt the first ten amendments, and not too long thereafter the nation precipitately adopted the ill-conceived Eleventh Amendment to curb the power of the Court over litigation brought against states.

Yet, Eidelberg would have us believe that only a return to Federalist principles can save us from such democratic perversions as political party conventions, or "errors of the present Court, as concerns the First and Fourteenth Amendments, [which] are destructive of the fabric of the Constitution and of the very order of society." Ultimately, the author argues, the Court must justify its decisions by appealing to the intention of the founders. But, as he himself would be the first to admit, this is precisely what the Warren Court has sought to do in the reinterpretation of the First and Fifth Amendments, in *Baker v. Carr*, and in *Reynolds v. Sims*, decisions that the author considers to have been based on "a tendentious selection of the evidence."

Curiously, the author shares his counsel of perfection with a leading activist on the present High Court. In a recent book this jurist avows: "It is language and history that are the crucial factors which influenced me in interpreting the Constitution—not reasonableness or desirability as determined by justices of the Supreme Court." The words are those of Hugo LaFayette Black.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

ERIE WATER WEST: A HISTORY OF THE ERIE CANAL, 1792-1854. By Ronald E. Shaw. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 449. \$8.00.)

THIS general history of the Erie Canal is notable for its attention to the details of social and especially political history. If there is little on the managerial function of the commissioners, less on the general question of the economic initiative of the state, and almost nothing on the concept of the market economy except by implication, there is much concentration on the legislature, on elections, on gubernatorial policy, and on partisan politics. This means, too, that such economic themes that Shaw chooses to consider, like the development of local industry in response to the canal, western trade, and especially railroads, are discussed briefly and not particularly deeply. Much, but not all, of the economic material is derivative and, in some instances, rewritten rather freely. Only Shaw concludes, for example, that the canal fund was the "preponderant" influence among the banks of the state.

Aside from such traditional themes as the origin of the canal movement, its enthusiastic supporters, and the eventual triumph over great odds—from "prophecy" to "miracle" in Shaw's extravagant language—the theme of the politics of internal improvements dominates this book. The political aspects of the canal's history, from its projection and construction to the decision to enlarge the canal in 1838, then to "stop and tax" in order to retrench in 1842, and finally to the resumption of construction later, constitute the main thread of the narrative. At times Shaw may attribute too great an influence to the canal as a factor in the politics of the state; at other times his excessive concentration on men and parties is at the expense of oversimplifying his analysis of prevailing economic conditions. Shaw does not seriously question, for example, the thesis advanced by the Barnburner wing of the Democratic party that the credit of the state of New York was in imminent jeopardy in 1842 and that only severe and immediate retrenchment would rescue it. A review of the conditions of New York's neighbors, near and far, would have indicated that, by comparison, the state was not rushing headlong into bankruptcy.

Shaw's most original suggestion is that projectors and officials of the state-owned and operated canal viewed it as a national, an American, rather than a parochial achievement of New York State. In this respect Shaw may well have been carried away by the rhetoric of canal enthusiasts. Self-conscious Americans, New Yorkers included, readily invested tasks, projects, and achievements with the mantle of nationalism; each became a test of the republican experiment performed under the eyes of foreign powers hostile to the national purpose. This mantle also served a very practical purpose where a large investment was required. What national characteristics the canal acquired over the years were the direct result of the growth of western trade.

Whatever the disagreements noted here, the fact remains that Shaw has written an interesting, readable, and detailed account of the Erie Canal and its times. It will be read for much that it says on state politics and for its rich detail on a variety of social aspects of life on and along the canal. In the latter connection, Shaw achieves his greatest originality and his best writing in passages of considerable charm and interest.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

NATHAN MILLER

PANIC ON WALL STREET: A HISTORY OF AMERICA'S FINANCIAL DISASTERS. By *Robert Sobel*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. 469. \$8.95.)

ROBERT Sobel, a teaching fellow at the "New College" within Hofstra University, has for several years been evincing an enthusiasm for rapid output of writing on various aspects of history. Two slender paperbacks of 1967—*The American Revolution* and *The French Revolution*—interestingly summarized well-known facts to which he added his choice of interpretations. An earlier interest in international relations had brought forth a somewhat less compressed summary entitled *Origins of Interventionism, The United States and the Russo-Finnish War* (1960). A keen interest in the stock market has brought forth three books: *The Big Board* (1965), *The Great Bull Market* (1968), and *Panic on Wall Street* (1968). That writers produce such works indicates the existence of a broadening reader market, sustained and remunerative, for short, lively, historical narrative sold as both hardbacks and paperbacks.

This latest book, like its predecessors, is devised to interest the "average reader" and doubtless succeeds nicely therein. Rather than using the laborious encumbrance of paginated notes, the author lists at the back of the volume the books consulted for each of his choice of "panics"; these books reappear in a general bibliography comprised of secondary sources. The author candidly explains that "The best sources for this study, however, have been newspapers and magazines, many of which captured the flavor of the moment better than economic monographs and historical theses." Twenty-five such sources are listed.

One chapter is accorded each of ten selected "panics," dated as of 1792, 1837, 1857, 1865-1869, 1873, 1884, 1893-1895, 1901, 1907, and 1929. Chapters on 1914 and 1962 are included to illustrate panics "aborted," thanks to the wisdom of the New York Stock Exchange and the basic strengths of the economy. Four criteria determined the selections: impact on Americans, dramatic quality, prior neglect by other writers, and suitability as illustrations of points that the author wished to make on the nature of panics. It is refreshing to encounter an author so candid about his selection of criteria and of audience. It seems pointless for a reviewer to demand minutiae on such panic problems as comparative measurement, variables, troughs, peaks, and aggregate economic activity. Sobel's engaging style may lure some few of his more thoughtful readers into serious study of the acute financial hazards that our voting public should allow our elected officials to try to handle intelligently.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS

THE CORNISH MINER IN AMERICA: THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE MINING HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES BY EMIGRANT CORNISH MINERS—THE MEN CALLED COUSIN JACKS. By *Arthur Cecil Todd*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1967. Pp. 279. \$10.00.)

THE fruit of a year's travel and study in the United States by a teacher of history and literature who specializes in the history of Cornwall, Dr. Todd's volume is, unfortunately, more a compilation of the memories of old-timers than

an analysis of documentary source materials. The opening chapter on Cornwall and its miners is an exception to this statement, but it is a disappointingly thin analysis of the causes of migration to America and of the society and culture from which the miners came.

Each of the six succeeding chapters focuses upon a single state or region where Cornishmen participated extensively in mining operations: Wisconsin, the Michigan peninsula, Colorado, California, the Pacific Northwest, and Nevada. A seventh and last one deals generally with copper mining in Utah, Montana, and Arizona. Each chapter covers the entire time span of Cornish settlement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which results in much repetition. That none has a summary indicates how little the writer is concerned with interpretation. He is content, rather, to recount the unusual deeds of well-remembered Cornishmen at work, play, or prayer, without much reference to the relationship of those deeds to the evolution of settled societies. Hyperbole abounds. On a single page of the preface Todd speaks of "virtues which amounted to the heroic," and declares that "no mine was ever without its Cornish captains," nor "any Cornishman ever without a job." An occasional, interesting metaphor, as the one about underground miners who worked "at the turning of the earth's axis," loses its usefulness amidst the flowering of poor ones.

Here, then, is no "history" in the usual sense of the term, no analytical study of group life or social change. Few passages deal more than casually with the questions that have interested historians of immigration during the past forty years: the relative importance of the "push" and the "pull" factors; the differing rates of occupational, cultural, and social accommodation to new environments; the nature and role of ethnic organizations; alterations in the pattern of family life; and the ideological and political development of group consciousness. One long section highlights without interpretive comment the careers of a score or more of Cornish Methodist preachers in America, while another notes obscurely that the entire group, being Methodist, tended toward both social radicalism and political conservatism. Todd makes no effort, however, to analyze the relation of either pastors or laymen to the Methodist Episcopal or the smaller Methodist sects with whom they cast their lot in America.

The sources upon which the book is based are surprisingly sparse. Time and again the footnotes refer to information supplied by acquaintances made by the author while on his American trip. He also used county histories far more than either contemporary magazines or newspapers and only occasionally stumbled on caches of manuscript letters or diaries. Oddly enough, he refers to three Cornish journals that "regularly published important letters" from America, but he cites none of these letters in the book.

Johns Hopkins University

TIMOTHY L. SMITH

THE PROFESSION OF AUTHORSHIP IN AMERICA, 1800-1870: THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM CHARVAT. Edited by *Matthew J. Bruccoli*. Foreword by *Howard Mumford Jones*. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1968. Pp. xviii, 327. \$7.00.)

WILLIAM Charvat, professor of English at Ohio State University from 1944

until his death in 1966, believed that literary history, rightly understood, meant a close analysis of the complex interaction of author, publisher, and contemporary reading public. "Literary historians have failed, on the whole," he contended, "to recognize the fact that literature is, from one point of view, a form of business enterprise." The present work, edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli, represents Charvat's uncompleted effort to rectify that failure.

In the nine previously published articles reprinted here, Charvat examines the emergence in the 1820's of Irving and Cooper as America's first successful literary entrepreneurs; the promotional methods of the publisher James T. Fields; the role of the literary magazine in the 1840's and 1850's (with particular reference to Poe); specific financial details of Longfellow's and Melville's careers; and the intricacies of ante bellum book publishing, distribution, and reviewing. The hitherto unpublished portions of the work, garnered from Charvat's files, consist primarily of extended discussions of Longfellow and Melville. Longfellow's *Hyperion* (1839) is presented both as the "spiritual autobiography" of a man in the process of becoming a professional writer and as a campaign document aimed at raising the status of the literary profession in America. In the Melville essay, Charvat traces the author's efforts, from *Typee* to *Pierre*, to explore the religious and philosophical questions that beset him, without in the process alienating a reading public that had early pigeonholed him as a writer of exotic travelogues. (Charvat in passing makes the perceptive point that the "identity" difficulties of the mid-nineteenth-century American author stemmed in part from the fact that he was expected to please an impossibly diverse range of sensibilities drawn from an as yet unstratified reading public.)

Charvat occasionally insists too strenuously on the exclusive validity of his vision of literary history, at one point ridiculing those who seek to discover universal themes or contemporary relevance in an author, rather than viewing him within his own cultural matrix. There are, in fact, significant aspects of literary history that are not particularly illuminated by Charvat's approach. Considerations of the market place do little to illumine the origins of such a book as Melville's *The Confidence Man*, the dark outpourings of Clemens' final period, or, as Charvat acknowledges, the work of intensely private writers like Emily Dickinson. Nevertheless, as Howard Mumford Jones notes in an appreciative foreword, Charvat has reminded us of an important and sometimes overlooked aspect of literary history.

It must be added, however, that, taken as a whole, this book is a disappointment. The previously unpublished portions, which make up more than half of the work, are undocumented, repetitious, and rough in style. Judgment of the book ultimately depends upon the position one takes on a broader question: what is the obligation of the scholarly community with respect to the unpublished work of a deceased colleague? One recalls, from the autobiography of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., that he advised Edward Channing's widow against publication of the final volume of her late husband's history, judging that it would neither enhance his reputation nor contribute significantly to historical knowledge. We are not informed if Charvat himself ever expressed specific wishes respecting the material here offered to the public, but Bruccoli does note that Charvat once observed to him that recent scholarship had largely

rendered his own unpublished studies supererogatory. Certainly it is desirable that the fruits of research be preserved in appropriate repositories for the benefit of future scholars, but on the matter of posthumous publication serious attention should be paid to the judgment of the individual in question. In this instance Charvat's instincts were sound.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

PAUL S. BOYER

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, 1801-1815. By *Marshall Smelser*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xiv, 369. \$7.95.)

THIS book accomplishes the author's purpose: "to organize the abundant learning of the writers and editors who have written so many specialized studies and perfected so many documents of the history of the United States from 1801 to 1815." Especially strong in diplomatic and military history, the fields of Smelser's previous works, it is the best one-volume synthesis of the scholarship of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, and, consequently, an effective antidote to Henry Adams.

Smelser's major interpretations are suggested by listing those scholars who have had the greatest impact on him and whose work he generously acknowledges: Bradford Perkins, George Dangerfield, and Arthur P. Whitaker on foreign policy; Thomas P. Abernethy on Burr ("this out-of-time renaissance princeling"); Leonard D. White on administrative history; Irving Brant on Madison; David H. Fischer on the Federalists. For the causes of the War of 1812 he blends the emphasis on ideological factors of Roger Brown, Reginald Horsman, and Norman K. Risjord with his own economic analysis of a division between states "more interested in farm production for export" (prowar) and states more interested in the carrying trade (antiwar).

The author's judgments are essentially sympathetic to the Republicans. Henry Adams skewered Jefferson for his deviations from principles. Jefferson, runs Smelser's argument, was no "doctrinaire democrat" to begin with, but a "whiggish moderate" who kept his ideals on one track, his public deeds on another. Such deviations as he made were "an intelligent adaptation to unforeseen circumstances." Within this framework Smelser is astringent toward "the blank spots on his libertarianism," namely his racism and "vigilantism," absorbing a watered-down version of Leonard Levy's "darker side." He judges that Madison was limited as a presidential and popular leader, but that he was neither a weakling nor an incompetent; he did "find his generals" and was a libertarian even in wartime. The Democratic-Republicans, on balance, "neither repudiated nor repealed their original principles."

Smelser is more successful with foreign policy than internal affairs and better with single events than long-range trends. The "New Federalists" come through strongly, thanks to Fischer's pathbreaking work. The Republicans would have been clearer had Smelser absorbed more of the integrating themes of Chilton Williamson's work on suffrage reform, Bray Hammond's on the politics of banking, and Noble Cunningham's on party practices. To portray "ideology," one must break loose from the strait jacket of Henry Adams'

presidential synthesis and focus as much on what was happening in the states. This is especially true for "political economy" as we have learned from the large body of literature by Carter Goodrich and others.

The author is least successful in integrating social and intellectual history. The trends described in the chapter on "The United States in 1801" and the currents in religion and culture, frontier and urban life do not seem to inform the political narrative that follows. There is no hint of the social sources of political conflict analyzed by Paul Goodman for Massachusetts. At the end of his book, Smelser, unlike Henry Adams, does not return to measure the changes in American society. Doubtless part of the problem here is that the general editors have parceled out "The Cultural Life of the New Nation" and "The Rise of the West" to two other volumes in the series. But part of the problem also is conceptual. Much of the monographic literature for this period is still narrowly political in its orientation, and to this extent my criticism is directed as much to the learning Smelser has organized as to his efforts.

Northern Illinois University

ALFRED F. YOUNG

THE JURISPRUDENCE OF JOHN MARSHALL. By *Robert Kenneth Faulkner*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xxi, 307. \$10.00.)

THIS is an excellent brief summary of John Marshall's legal and political thought. It does, however, have one curious if somewhat subtle undertone: while the author is generally sympathetic with Marshall's ideal of a mildly aristocratic constitutional republic, he on occasion subjects the value system of the great Chief Justice to criticism from something suspiciously like a "High Federalist" point of view.

The main theme of the book, pursued with intelligence and considerable success, is that Marshall was essentially a "votary" of classic Lockean liberalism who regarded "the encouragement of human liberty" as the great theme and purpose of human life. The devotion to human liberty, Faulkner contends, explains Marshall's concern for private property, which he saw not only as a natural right but also as a means to "self-preservation," to the "elimination of class strife between rich and poor," and to the promotion of "the national security." The same concern for human liberty, Faulkner points out, appeared in Marshall's opposition to the Sedition Act of 1798, which he attacked as foolish and bad public policy, and in the strict construction of the Constitution's treason clause, which he laid down in the Burr trial. In all this the author is almost unreservedly laudatory. Only in his consideration of the argument for judicial review, which Marshall set forth in *Marbury v. Madison* does he become sharply critical, contending that the analysis presented by Justice John Gibson in *Eakin v. Raub* (1825) is superior to that by Marshall.

Faulkner's admiration for Marshall's value system extends even to the Chief Justice's disillusionment about democracy. He quotes with evident sympathy Harrison Grey Otis' lament in 1807 that, because of the rise of democracy, "all avenues to great and liberal and patriotic objects are shut against the noble and high minded," while virtually the only criticism he has to offer of the Lockean republic Marshall tried to establish is that in liberating the "acquisitive passions"

it might ultimately lead, as Tocqueville feared, to a despotic bureaucratic despotism presiding over "an unthinking sheep-like race of men." It is a curious appraisal, and, above all, one that completely misses the point that Marshall is remembered today as a "Colossus" not because he failed to establish an aristocratic republic after the pattern admired by Hamilton and the "High Federalists" but rather because his creative genius laid the foundations for modern constitutional democracy.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

THE SUPREME COURT AND AMERICAN CAPITALISM. By *Arthur Selwyn Miller*. [The Supreme Court in American Life.] (New York: Free Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 259. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95).

THIS book by Professor Miller of the George Washington University Law School, despite its title, is more about public policy and the corporation than the Supreme Court. Only two chapters principally concern the Court. One is a conventional, but sharply written, review of Court decisions and doctrines from Marshall through the old Court, which facilitated and protected the rise of corporate economic power. Miller is properly sardonic about the high tide of judicial governance in the first quarter of the century: "The Supreme Court failed to recognize that necessitous men are not free men."

More provocative is the chapter headed "The Desuetude of the Supreme Court?" where Miller argues that the Court will soon commence a long-term decline in power and importance. In economic matters, as in foreign affairs, policy is now primarily executive or administrative; judicial supervision has been almost nonexistent since 1937. As for the Court's new role in civil liberties and civil rights (which Miller applauds for confronting "abrasive problems of the human condition" ignored by the other branches of government), this phase too is nearing its end, for "the main guidelines have been set . . . and what remains is to fill in the details."

Aside from speculative predictions on the future of the Court, the most interesting and substantial sections of the book concern the growth of the "Positive State" established by the governmental revolution of the New Deal. The Employment Act of 1946 embodied and "constitutionalized" this revolution, with the government thereby assuming continuing responsibilities for "maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

In the mid-forties the "Positive State" loomed as a formidable counterpoise to private capitalism. Yet the supercorporation of the post-New Deal period managed to elude significant public direction, one reason being failure of the commission system to fulfill "naïve" expectations. The result has been a symbiotic government-corporation "partnership" where both the location and legitimacy of decision-making power are in doubt. The book may have been written too early for comment on the current upsurge of "existentialist" revolt by students and others against this very development.

Miller, who is highly regarded among Court commentators for several fine law review articles, clearly tried to cover too much in this book, which ranges boldly over vast areas of economic history, political theory, constitutional

law, and public policy. The loose breadth of Miller's topics is not lessened by his formalistic law professor style. Even so, the book contains many perceptive observations and much quotable phraseology. The bibliography at the back is slender and, on the Court, curiously outdated, but many valuable references to recent articles are in the footnotes, fortunately at the bottom of the page. Documentation from source materials, except for Court cases, is slight. Over-all, the book is stimulating and worthwhile, but its value as a scholarly contribution to history is limited.

Michigan State University

ARNOLD M. PAUL

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF JAMES FENIMORE COOPER.

Volumes V and VI. Edited by *James Franklin Beard*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 418; ix, 460. \$27.50 for the two volumes.)

WITH these fifth and sixth volumes Professor Beard has completed his edition of Cooper's letters and journals. The last two volumes maintain the high standard set by the four that have already appeared. There is no need now to repeat the words of praise Beard has received and deserves. There is need now, although this review will not do it, to consider at length what the entire edition adds to our sense of Cooper and the moment in which he lived.

The final volumes, as the others, are handsome, sensibly edited, and full of interest. The Belknap Press has provided a format that is unpretentiously attractive, a book that lies flat when laid open on the desk, a page easy to read, notes where they belong, and a right-hand running head that gives place and year for easy reference. The editorial work is precise and concise. The source of each document is identified; compact notes explicate unfamiliar references and names; Beard provides brief introductions to the dominant themes by which he divides the chronological flow. The last volume ends with "Supplementary Letters (1825-1847)" discovered while the edition has been in progress, a list of Cooper's published writings, "additions and corrections," and an index to the entire six volumes. All of this is excellent.

Two things stand out in Cooper's last years: his extraordinary energy and range of activity, and his deep ambivalence about himself as a writer and an American. Cooper wrote eight novels, including one of his most interesting, *The Crater*, a play, and an incomplete history of Manhattan, and he undertook a revised edition of his entire work for a complete edition. Yet, reading these volumes, one hardly thinks of him as a writer at all. They are filled with the business of being a writer, letters about advances and loans, the haggling with publishers (the exchange with Richard Bentley, Cooper's London publisher, says more about the problem of an international copyright than most articles), but the only clue to Cooper's aesthetic (beyond the haste with which he wrote, *con amore*, as he put it) is in a long letter about Thomas Cole's painting. His judgment on Cole's neglect may account for the nearly total absence of what one might call a literary ambience in Cooper's daily life. Cooper did not think American culture yet capable of sustaining "a high and intellectual civilization," although he hoped it might in the future.

To organize a short review around general themes is, however, unfair to the particular nuggets of interest: Cooper's zest for the minutiae of the many law suits he entangled himself in, his skill at placing friends through the spoils system which he professed to despise, his gentle kindliness with children who wrote him, his wry comments on American social habits, such as young girls smoking "large strong cigars" and drinking brandy and water in a New York hotel, and his constant and deep affection for his wife. One image makes him come fully and humanly alive: Mrs. Cooper, on crisp winter nights in Coopers-town, would beat him soundly at chess; Cooper confided to his journal, "two infernal beats again, slap-bang. . . . Well, this delights my wife, and so I care not. I *can* beat, if I try."

Amherst College

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

PIONEERS AND PROFITS: LAND SPECULATION ON THE IOWA FRONTIER. By *Robert P. Swierenga*. (Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1968. Pp. xxviii, 260. \$7.50.)

In this monograph Professor Swierenga re-examines the role of the large non-resident land speculator on the frontier, and his conclusions about this important pioneer type challenge those found in many earlier studies of land disposal. The author is convinced that through the efforts of "the new breed of econometric historians" scholars "are poised on the threshold of a new era in the study of American land history." His own contribution is to examine, principally through the medium of data analyzed on a digital computer, the activities of speculators beginning in the 1830's in Royce Cession 262, an area of 11,776,000 acres in central Iowa. In this region speculators and settlers had their choice not only of federal lands ("Congress land"), but also of a variety of state lands that totaled approximately one-quarter of the public domain in Iowa: lands to be sold for public education, swampland drainage, and internal improvements.

In the Royce Cession Swierenga discovers that the large speculators chose their lands according to no uniform preference for particular soil type or topography, although they considered these characteristics more significant in influencing purchase than the physical proximity of the land to townsites or waterways. The author finds that the financial relationships among speculator, realtor, and settler were largely harmonious, and, by amplifying the techniques of Allan and Margaret Bogue, he ascertains that investments in western lands generally provided a higher rate of return for the speculator than government bonds, good commercial paper and call money, common stocks, or deposits in savings banks.

The author's ample evidence, drawn mainly from federal and state land entry and resale records, but supplemented from the manuscripts of businessmen, especially the papers of the Virginian James S. Easley, the largest non-resident speculator in Iowa lands, leads him to conclude that the speculator was not antisocial, but rather contributed notably to frontier settlement as dispenser of credit, payer of taxes, purveyor of jobs, and accelerator of public land sales to the benefit of national and local governments. Unlike earlier historians he argues that the speculator's activities did not retard settlement, undercut settlers' claims, foster tenancy, and produce tax delinquency.

Swierenga makes a convincing argument for his method and his conclusions in spite of a sometimes crusading manner and a pedestrian style that does not gracefully carry his ample quantitative data. Whether these conclusions hold for other frontiers must, as he himself notes, await future investigations.

Portland State University

GORDON B. DODDS

THE ETERNAL ADAM AND THE NEW WORLD GARDEN: THE CENTRAL MYTH IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL SINCE 1830. By David W. Noble. (New York: George Braziller. 1968. Pp. xi, 226. \$5.95.)

At the outset Professor Noble disarmingly announces that he has "ventured across the traditional dividing line between history and literature." By leaving his home ground, he implies, the historian takes risks for which he deserves a special dispensation: professional rigor and scholarly apparatus may be put aside when he writes about novels. *The Eternal Adam* contains no notes, no index, no bibliography, and only an occasional acknowledgment that other writers have been in the field.

Still, one would gladly forego all that for an interesting, unencumbered sortie, however idiosyncratic, into the borderland between history and literature. That, however, is not Noble's concern. In fact, he seems never to have asked himself *why* it is venturesome for historians to stray into literary territory. Why do so few scholars successfully negotiate the boundary? Can it be that the kind of attention required to get at the significance of imaginative literature differs from that necessary for the usual historical document? It seems clear that he did not pause to reflect upon these questions or even, for that matter, upon the books he discusses, and the result is a hasty, thesis-ridden, flat-footed interpretation of the American novel since 1830. The argument is that no important novelist in that period has escaped "a direct confrontation with the American dream." From Cooper to Bellow, virtually all of our novelists have adopted as their fictive postulate, so to speak, the myth of America as a new beginning, a land that promises redemption from time, and in one way or another they all have revealed the discrepancy between this fantasy of escape from history and the harsh temporality of real life. As I write, there must be at least a hundred thousand undergraduates across the land preparing to inscribe some such theory in their exam books. It is as if a literary critic had ventured into historiography only to discover that industrialization has been a major concern of American historians.

The Eternal Adam is careless and inaccurate as well as hackneyed. Quoting from *Moby Dick*, Noble uses a mere ellipsis to splice a passage from Chapter xli with a passage from Chapter xlii, and then he summarizes what they mean with: "Thus Ahab confesses. . . ." Yet the words from the end of Chapter xlii that immediately precede this phrase do not refer to Ahab. Indeed, Melville has taken some pains to make it absolutely clear that Chapter xli is about Ahab's view of the whale and Chapter xlii about Ishmael's view. This is not a quibble. The central import of Melville's novel, as we now understand it, turns in large measure upon this distinction between their viewpoints. But, as Noble lays the heavy template of his thesis upon novel after novel, such vital dis-

tinctions get flattened out of existence. He seems to think that Henry James, in *The American*, depicts European culture with unqualified approval, and that he is doing justice to the heroine, whom he calls "Madame de Centre" (her name is "de Cintré"), when he describes her as "charming and cultivated."

One might ascribe these lapses to an insufficient respect for the complexity of literary texts if some of Noble's readings of intellectual history did not seem equally crude. He evidently approves of the idea, which he attributes to Hawthorne, that the seventeenth-century New England Puritans were guilty of "denying their sinfulness," hence of creating the American Adam—that figure of prelapsarian innocence who replaced the "Eternal Adam," sinful man, in the native imagination. But this kind of freewheeling generalization, unsupported by any evidence, seems inexcusable, especially when it comes from an intellectual historian whose earlier work is justly admired. If *The Eternal Adam* is no better than I have found it, perhaps it will serve, like a blasted vehicle in no man's land, as a cautionary symbol to venturesome historians of the future.

Amherst College

LEO MARX

POWDER KEG: NORTHERN OPPOSITION TO THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT, 1831-1840. By *Lorman Ratner*. (New York: Basic Books, 1968. Pp. xii, 172. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Ratner's subtitle is misleading since he deals with northern opposition to the abolitionists, not to the antislavery movement in general. He views the 1830's as "a special era" for abolitionists during which they "were better organized and made more concerted efforts to convince the northern public than ever before," an unquestionable assertion since the New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized in 1831. Ratner does not explain what made "reaction to antislavery in that decade . . . a special case," although he acknowledges that, because the opponents of abolitionism did not themselves represent an organized movement with recognized leaders, sketching their sentiments presented "methodological difficulties." The author employed a variety of published materials—newspapers and magazines, sermons and political speeches, novels and tracts—in an effort to determine "the expressed overt level of anti-abolition." He found "the views uncovered were much the same regardless of group and . . . the findings are of a consensus."

Four of the book's six chapters discuss the major factors in northern opposition to the abolitionists. The themes stressed include the racist beliefs and practices of ante bellum northerners, resentment at foreign criticisms of American slavery, "the argument that abolition endangered the Union, challenged states' rights, and intruded on the rights of individuals," and the fear that abolitionist "radicalism" would provoke race warfare in the South and civil violence in the North. In a fifth chapter, Ratner examines antiabolitionist feeling among American churchmen. He shows that most clerical leaders during the 1830's disapproved of the abolitionists, but omits describing the counterstrain of moderate antislavery sentiment then evolving within the major northern churches. In a brief, final chapter, Ratner interprets northern hostility toward the abolitionists as a reflection of underlying fears and ambitions in

American culture during the 1830's, employing the previously developed concept of a distinctly Jacksonian "combination of confidence and anxiety."

Powder Keg is an often repetitive sourcebook of antiabolitionist tirades. Ratner uses many of the same individuals—for example, James Fenimore Cooper, Lyman Beecher, Calvin Colton, and the ubiquitous James Kirk Paulding—to illustrate each of his themes, while neglecting to explain what made their views particularly "representative." Similarly, the author pays almost no attention to chronology. Although he mentions in passing events such as the nullification crisis, the Nat Turner Insurrection, and the gag rule controversy, Ratner avoids asking whether these episodes helped to mold northern attitudes toward the abolitionists. Was the antiabolitionist critique fully developed by 1831, or did it undergo significant change during the 1830's with each succeeding crisis?

The reader will also find it difficult to determine whether the arguments against abolitionism employed by northerners differed from southern attacks. Again, the author does not raise the question. Nor does he mention William W. Freehling's findings on southern attitudes toward the new antislavery militants during the 1830's.

Ratner correctly suggests certain "methodological difficulties" with his book. The basic ones concern his overstatements regarding northern "public opinion." Did *every* reason given for antagonism toward the abolitionists affect equally all classes and groups in northern society? Ratner, himself, suggests a subtler and more fragmented argument when dealing with the different strands of clerical opposition or with the hostility of working-class spokesmen toward immediate emancipation. He fails, elsewhere, to recognize the general need for careful examination of group or regional response within the North. He seems to argue that merchants and mechanics, farmers and fishermen, Vermonters and New Yorkers were equally annoyed at the abolitionists. In short, the author does not explain how a presumably monolithic northern "consensus" opposed to abolitionism developed so rapidly during the 1830's.

Finally, although Ratner acknowledges that "anti-abolitionism was usually expressed in slogans and emotional appeals rather than in rational argument," he devotes four of his six chapters to the details of such "overt" justifications. Only in the final chapter does he attempt to explain the social and psychological roots of antiabolitionism, largely by restating his earlier themes and, once more, by cataloguing the rhetoric associated with opponents of antislavery agitation. To this extent, *Powder Keg* is a useful, if indiscriminate, compendium of antiabolitionist screeds during the 1830's. Unfortunately, in transcribing these tirades, Ratner neglected the nagging contradiction in northern values that permitted antiabolitionist and antislavery sentiments to coexist uneasily throughout the pre-Civil War era.

Smith College

ALLEN WEINSTEIN

ELIHU BURRITT: CRUSADER FOR BROTHERHOOD. By *Peter Tolis*. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1968. Pp. ix, 309. \$10.00.)

ELIHU Burritt was rescued from obscurity as a young man when Governor

Edward Everett praised him to an educational convention in 1838 as "the learned blacksmith," who had taught himself many languages while working at his forge. Burritt parlayed this notoriety into a career as a lecturer and writer and as a familiar figure in mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-American reform. In the twentieth century Merle Curti revived Burritt's reputation in relation to the American peace movement, and now Peter Tolis has written a biographical study exhaustively recounting Burritt's activities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Tolis is less sympathetically admiring of Burritt than Curti was. Burritt's mastery of thirty languages or so, to the extent that he actually did master them, appears to have been a feat of memory and otherwise purposeless, although he did try his hand at translating. He engaged in journalism with indifferent success throughout much of his life, but it was on the lyceum circuit that he achieved his first real success, dramatically representing the American doctrine of self-help in the intellectual field. Subject matter was required for his lectures, and he took up the causes of temperance and antislavery and then peace.

"As he had outgrown the narrower spheres of temperance and antislaveryism," writes Tolis, "so he began to feel somewhat confined by the peace crusade. Now he was for universal brotherhood immediately achieved." Departing for England, Burritt founded the League for Universal Brotherhood and "spent his happiest years in England, where he had won a measure of acceptance and acclaim far greater than in America."

Tolis' biography is chiefly based upon Burritt's correspondence and upon his published writings. He considers Burritt to have been an unreliable judge of his own affairs, misreading the times and misunderstanding his role in the world. Under these circumstances, Tolis might have made better use of secondary sources than he did, particularly in the areas of evangelical reform and of Anglo-American humanitarian cooperation. One would think that he might have learned more than he did about Burritt from others, based on the extensive collateral manuscript sources listed in the bibliography.

Nevertheless, a lifelike image of Burritt does emerge from this biographical study, and it relates significantly to the evangelical, as well as to the more practically promotional, qualities of mid-nineteenth-century America.

University of Missouri, St. Louis

GILMAN M. OSTRANDER

THE WILKES EXPEDITION: THE FIRST UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION (1838-1842). By *David B. Tyler*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LXXIII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1968. Pp. xvi, 435. \$6.00.)

In August 1838 a naval squadron left Norfolk, Virginia, on an exploring and surveying expedition. Its commander was a young naval lieutenant, Charles Wilkes, and his assignment over others superior in rank and term of service caused resentment among his fellow officers, both inside and outside the expedition. This was a disrupting influence which, along with Wilkes's own personality weaknesses, enervated the morale and caused dissension during the entire three years and ten months of the operation. A series of court-martial followed the squadron's return.

Even under the best of circumstances such an expedition would have tested the tact, diplomacy, tenacity, intelligence, and seamanship of its commander. As Professor Tyler, who has had naval experience, points out and demonstrates throughout his narrative, sailing ships demanded the instantaneous reaction of a well-drilled crew to the orders of a highly competent captain. Even then the odds on shipwreck were unpleasantly high.

Moreover, Wilkes had another problem to test his patience: he had civilian scientists aboard his ships. These independent people, sometimes ludicrous, as when one of them appeared on deck holding an umbrella, and always demanding special privileges for their scientific endeavors, resented naval discipline and gave the commander grudging support at best. Yet their work resulted in the publishing of sixteen of the nineteen projected volumes on scientific results of the expedition. These, plus Wilkes's five-volume *Narration*, constitute an impressive bibliography. James D. Dana and Titian Ramsay Peale are just two of the hard-working scientists who contributed.

The expedition discovered the Antarctic continent. It made minute and accurate surveys of several groups of islands in the Pacific, including the Fijis, where troubles occurred with cannibals. It took survey measurements from the top of Mauna Loa in Hawaii. Owing to Wilkes's foresightedness with regard to future needs, it conducted a survey of the Straits of Juan de Fuca and of the Columbia River. Some of his men advanced as far east as Walla Walla, while another party marched from the Columbia south to the Sacramento and Sutter's Fort (spelled Suter by Tyler).

The achievements of this expedition were impressive and important, yet it is all but forgotten in the annals of American exploration. Now Tyler has combined his own nautical experience with thorough research in order to present a succinct, single-volume history of this productive but ill-fated and obscure project. His many quotations from the journals of the participants are well chosen, his appraisals of situations are impartial, his objectivity in presenting the many sides of controversies is a manifestation of highest scholarly activity.

This indispensable volume in the history of exploration fills a long-existing vacuum and is an important contribution. It is also a wonderful yarn that will fascinate the armchair explorer. Twenty-four illustrations and a map add to the attractiveness of the book, while its errors are inconsequential.

Florida State University

RICHARD A. BARTLETT

PUBLIC MONEY AND PAROCHIAL EDUCATION: BISHOP HUGHES, GOVERNOR SEWARD, AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOL CONTROVERSY. By *Vincent P. Lannie*. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1968. Pp. xii, 282. \$7.50.)

In his annual message of 1840 Governor William Henry Seward of New York urged the "establishment of schools" in which the children of immigrants "may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith." Since there was no great language problem at the time, this passage was widely interpreted as an invitation for Catholics to request public support of parochial schools. Seward's recommendation launched

a bitter struggle that saw fiery Bishop John Hughes enter a Catholic third party in the legislative elections of 1841 and the ultimate adoption of a statute in 1842 that further contributed to the secularization of the New York public schools.

This affair has been treated many times as, for example, in Professor Billington's book on Protestant nativism and in Professor Cremin's on the rise of the common school, but generally it has been dealt with merely as an incident in studies of larger questions. Now Professor Lannie's book provides the first full-length account in print that is exclusively devoted to the New York City school controversy of 1840-1842. And it is an important subject, for, despite seeming limitations of time and place, the controversy forms a significant case study in the histories of public education, of the Roman Catholic Church, of church-state relations, of nativism, and even of Whig party fortunes in the nineteenth-century United States.

Lannie has done a thorough job in putting together the complicated story of this dispute. He has researched widely, including Hughes materials in the archives of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of New York, which are sometimes difficult to get access to. With the exception of some ambiguous observations on the role of Seward, arising, I suspect, from an incomplete conception of the nature of professional politics in our society, Lannie has also managed to suggest general applications of his subject. In the future, students who have occasion to look into the New York school controversy of 1840-1842 will want to start with this book.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

JOHN W. PRATT

COLOSSAL HAMILTON OF TEXAS: A BIOGRAPHY OF ANDREW JACKSON HAMILTON, MILITARY UNIONIST AND RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNOR. By *John L. Waller*. (El Paso: Texas Western Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 152. \$5.00.)

THE purpose of this book is to present the biography of Andrew Jackson Hamilton, a militant unionist, who served as a provisional governor of Texas during presidential Reconstruction. He was an able speaker and an imposing figure on the Texas political scene from the late 1850's until 1875. A unionist in Congress when the Civil War began, Hamilton was soon thereafter compelled to flee to Mexico. However, he left Mexican soil for New Orleans in 1862 when that city fell into Union hands. While Hamilton was at New Orleans, Lincoln named him brigadier general of volunteers and military governor of Texas. Both titles proved to be empty ones, yet he was not forgotten by President Andrew Johnson, who appointed him provisional governor of Texas in June 1865. In line with the President's plan for Reconstruction, a constitutional convention was held in Austin where the secession ordinance was nullified and the Confederate debt repudiated but the Thirteenth Amendment was not ratified. Still the people adopted the constitution and chose, in the same election, J. W. Throckmorton, a former Confederate officer, as governor of Texas. Thus, Hamilton returned to private life.

While Texas was a part of the fifth military district in 1867, he was appointed

an associate justice to the "Military Supreme Court." Two years later, as a Conservative Republican, Hamilton lost the race for the governor's office to E. J. Davis, a Radical Republican, in an election where numerous irregularities occurred. Hamilton was bitter toward the Davis administration, which he felt to be oppressive, but he remained loyal to his party through the few remaining years of his life.

This book, in presenting the biography of Hamilton effectively, contributes to the history of the Reconstruction in Texas. The author has used available sources with accuracy, and his readable style should interest the student. *Colossal Hamilton of Texas* is attractively designed by Carl Hertzog and is edited by S. D. Myres.

Texas Christian University

W. C. NUNN

LORDS OF THE LOOM: THE COTTON WHIGS AND THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Thomas H. O'Connor*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1968. Pp. ix, 214. \$7.50.)

It was fashionable not too long ago in Civil War historiography to posit an inevitable clash between an agrarian South and an industrial North. Never mind that, generations before, actors caught up in the gathering storm railed that, on the contrary, northern business interests and plantation owners worked feverishly to tie the sections together with economic, social, and political bonds. Indeed, so convinced were men like Charles Sumner that an unholy alliance had been forged by the nation's greatest capitalistic interests that he characterized their political union as a "conspiracy"—one of "cotton-planters" and "flesh-mongers" with "cotton-spinners" and "traffickers of New England," an alliance of "the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom."

Like other studies of the past generation, *Lords of the Loom* returns to the earliest view of the nature of political and economic alliances in pre-Civil War America and strikes one more blow against the Beards, Louis Hacker, and other economic determinists. In a brief, straightforward chronicle, the author shows that the Massachusetts cotton manufacturers and industrialists did not constitute a " 'juggernaut' making war upon a passive and unresisting South." Rather, American manufacturing was a great force "consistently working to prevent the disruption of the Union and energetically seeking to establish harmonious relations between the North and the South."

By concentrating his attention on one group—the Massachusetts Cotton Whigs—the author throws into relief the first, substantial, influential manufacturing interest in America. Here are all the great Boston capitalists—the Lawrences, Appletons, Winthrops, Lowells, Lyman, Jacksons, and others—all geniuses in their handling and investing of large sums of money. But they were not mere economic men, and O'Connor's book is not a narrow economic history. We learn that the social lives of these New Englanders were extensions of their economic amplitude; they lived like a true aristocracy, intermarried, visited, carefully selected brilliant young men to apprentice to their interests, and subtly controlled the politics of their region. In their society they most resembled southern planters who, with their vast lands and numbers of slaves, constituted a landed gentry.

Because of the mutual interests shared by the southern Tories and the liberal capitalists, they dominated the Whig party, and, when Whiggery faded, Massachusetts businessmen fled to the American party and helped to form the Constitutional Union party, pleading always with southerners to join them. We know that through all this the Brahmins were antislavery, but their sentiments were muted for their prime concern was the preservation of the Union. Not until 1860 did the New Englanders realize that their southern friends ranked the protection and extension of slavery above the integrity of the nation. This proved a bitter disappointment to men who for a generation had placed the laws and the Constitution above their consciences.

The Civil War erupted, then, despite the efforts of conservative businessmen. And why did it? In O'Connor's view, northern businessmen failed during the critical years to "make common cause, pool their economic interests, or coordinate their political forces." But can we be so gentle with a group of men who thought the Union could be saved with a harsh Fugitive Slave Law, the Know-Nothing party, and the Crittenden Compromise? The tragedy of American conservatism one hundred years ago was that it was unable to lead and govern for any extended period of time, and, in crisis, it compromised its ideals. The Cotton Whigs were not the first political group to fail the test—the Federalists have that dubious honor—but their ineptitude was spectacular for it helped to straighten the way to our bloodiest war.

Baltimore, Maryland

AIDA DiPACE DONALD

DISEASE IN THE CIVIL WAR: NATURAL BIOLOGICAL WARFARE IN 1861-1865. By *Paul E. Steiner*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas. 1968. Pp. xv, 243. \$10.50.)

MEDICAL-MILITARY PORTRAITS OF UNION AND CONFEDERATE GENERALS. By *Paul E. Steiner*. (Philadelphia: Whitmore Publishing Company. 1968. Pp. vii, 342. \$6.00.)

FIELD MEDICAL SERVICES AT THE BATTLES OF MANASSAS (BULL RUN). By *Horace H. Cunningham*. [University of Georgia Monographs, Number 16.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 116. \$2.50.)

AMONG the vast number of volumes published on the American Civil War, relatively few have been devoted to medical aspects of the conflict. Yet mortality from disease was far greater than that from actual combat, and mid-nineteenth-century medicine was unable to prevent the spread of infectious disease and had little to offer as effective therapy for either the sick or the wounded. As Richard Shryock has suggested, the failure to consider the medical record results in an incomplete and unrealistic picture of the war, for no other facet reflects so clearly the human costs in suffering and death. The works of Steiner and Cunningham are creditable attempts to add to our knowledge of the medical side of the war.

In *Disease in the Civil War*, Dr. Steiner uses military and medical data, mainly from official records, to show how the prevalence of diseases influenced the development and the outcome of eight battles or campaigns. Military historians may disagree with some of his conclusions, but they will find many of his

medical observations worth considering, especially his analysis of disease in the Peninsular campaign of 1862. The introductory chapter provides a good survey of wartime diseases (the most serious and extensive being diarrhea and dysentery, malaria, typhoid, and respiratory infections), the extent of mortality and morbidity, the inadequacies of medical knowledge, and the role of disease in reducing numbers and effectiveness of military units.

Steiner's notion of "natural biological warfare" contains contradictory and ambiguous elements and contributes nothing to his work. By "natural" he means "without enhancement, effective deterrence, interference, or deliberate usage." While "natural," however, the phenomenon is not warfare, except that of microorganisms against men while men are fighting each other. Steiner found no evidence of deliberate attempts to use disease as a weapon. But the circumstances of war did provide "enhancement" for the outbreak and spread of disease by the massing of susceptibles and carriers, the problems of camp sanitation, and numerous other factors not ordinarily present in peacetime. Some military men were aware of advantages they gained when the enemy suffered severely from disease, but this could hardly be described as "natural biological warfare."

In *Medical-Military Portraits*, Steiner considers five Union and five Confederate generals and attempts to show how their "pathological conditions" influenced the military history of the Civil War. Each individual is subjected to medico-historical diagnosis in terms of early life and education, prewar activities and ailments, wartime career, problems of psychological stress, diseases, and wounds, postwar life (if any), and a medical-military summing up. Steiner offers several psychiatric diagnoses: McClellan suffered from acute anxiety and paranoid tendencies, which Lincoln had labeled "the slows"; Sherman briefly exhibited effects of stress, but made a quick and thorough recovery; Hooker suffered a breakdown from combat fatigue, exacerbated by cerebral concussion and possibly alcohol; Hood, having lost a leg and the use of an arm, experienced adverse psychological effects with disastrous military consequences; Stonewall Jackson, an inveterate hypochondriac, had a set of neuroses that sustained him as a commander but that might have contributed to his death. Although these "portraits" cover much ground that is not new, include irrelevant data, wander in many directions, are sometimes repetitious or tedious, and engage in some highly debatable speculations, the work still has interest and value for those willing to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Professor Cunningham's brief monograph, *Field Medical Services*, deals specifically with "attempts made by the opposing medical departments in the East to organize effective field ambulance systems during the period of 'the improvised war' from First through Second Manassas." In less than a hundred pages he skillfully presents a clear and depressingly grim picture of the problems confronting the army medical services in caring for the wounded, the Union and Confederate responses to the situation, and the relevance of these developments to the broader process of wartime organization.

Severely tested at First Manassas, the Union medical department was found woefully inadequate; as a result, the department was reorganized and improved. In the circumstances of victory, the deficiencies of the Confederate medical service were not as glaringly apparent as those of the retreating Union force.

Union experience at Second Manassas demonstrated the desperate need for a well-organized ambulance corps. Improvement came rapidly, and a comprehensive ambulance system was eventually extended throughout the entire army. Although the Confederates made some improvements in their ambulance and hospital services, victory at Second Manassas again obscured the need for better organization.

Cunningham views the evolution of the Union ambulance system as a manifestation of the same drive toward centralization that resulted in a modern command system and transformed the nation. Confederate leadership, however, in medical services as in other areas, failed to grasp the urgent necessity for central planning and direction to cope with the new era in warfare; they improvised to the bitter end. Within the clearly defined limits of this little volume, in terms of research and presentation, readability and relevance, Cunningham has admirably achieved his purpose.

Louisiana State University

JO ANN CARRIGAN

GENERAL STERLING PRICE AND THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WEST.

By *Albert Castel*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 300. \$8.95.)

ONLY in recent years have the Civil War campaigns and leaders in the western theaters of operation generated the kind of interest among historians formerly reserved for studies of the East. Albert Castel, already an established authority on the border war in Kansas, adds yet another dimension to our understanding of the war in the West with his *General Sterling Price*. Few biographical sketches yield such significant insights into western action as this one. Price served throughout the war as a commander of western troops in operations beyond the Alleghenies, and his biography reveals not only the richness of his own career but much of the complexity and importance of a far-flung Confederate theater of action. This is also a study of another prominent Missouri politician and war leader, Thomas C. Reynolds, and his influence upon Price. Castel's extensive use of Reynolds' writings both during and after the war make this "a study of him as well as of Price."

Price was not a great general; nor does the author present him as such. He was a good troop leader, and his popularity among his men and the Missouri secessionists brought him important military assignments throughout the war. As second-in-command at Wilson's Creek, Pea Ridge, and Corinth he handled his troops well, and, according to Castel, his tactical showings in each case overshadowed those of his commanding officers. When he was in sole command, however, his showings were less commendable. Only at Lexington, Missouri, did he exhibit exceptional skill when forced to direct a battle on his own.

Vain, fiery in disposition, and strongly opinionated, Price was at best "a respectable mediocrity." He made many mistakes, but always he led his troops with courage, dedication to the cause, and enthusiasm for battle. In many ways he symbolizes the strengths and weaknesses of his region. He was the type of officer often found in the hinterlands of the Confederacy, where soldiers distrusted West Pointers and followed native sons in preference to the generals from Richmond.

Castel has researched his subject well, and sharp interpretations throughout the book indicate that he often went beyond his documents. This lends an exciting and decisive tone to the writing, but sometimes his judgments are more dogmatic than his material warrants. His sources hardly justify his statement that General Nathaniel Banks "approached total incompetence," or that to assign General Theophilus Holmes to a responsible command after his Malvern Hill actions "was an inexcusable blunder on the part of [President] Davis." It may be "conceivable" that one of Price's reasons for fighting at Pilot Knob, Missouri, was to capture an important Republican general, but his evidence suggests better motives.

It is of General Earl Van Dorn that Castel makes his sharpest judgment. Much of his criticism of the mercurial Mississippian is supported by the general's actions, but Castel himself notes that it was under Van Dorn that Price exerted his best efforts. Of the affair at Corinth the author criticizes Van Dorn, along with Generals Mansfield Lovell and Louis Hébert, with less than adequate evidence. The sources suggest that the two brigadiers disagreed sharply with their commander over the conduct of the battle, possibly to the point where resentment of Van Dorn affected their performances on the second day of the battle. Yet this hardly warrants the conclusion that "Van Dorn probably was aware of this attitude . . . but dared not make an issue of it because it would reflect on his own ability as a general." Nor is there evidence that Lovell may have "had some sort of personal hold over" Van Dorn.

The judgments are sharp, and sometimes minor factual errors appear, but this is, nevertheless, a first-rate biography. Hampered by the paucity of Price's personal letters and papers, Castel deals effectively with his subject, blending well the personal, political, and military aspects of his life. In sober but effective writing he adds another significant biography to our shelf of war literature, and it is essential reading for anyone interested in the Civil War west of the Mississippi River.

Wittenberg University

ROBERT HARTJE

BLUEPRINT FOR MODERN AMERICA: NONMILITARY LEGISLATION OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR CONGRESS. By *Leonard P. Curry*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 302. \$8.50.)

WHATEVER their views of its causes, historians commonly agree that in its consequences the Civil War witnessed, if not a second American Revolution, at least a major restructuring of national life. To a remarkable extent, Professor Curry reminds us, the blueprint for this new America is to be found in the accomplishments of the first wartime Congress. For not only did that extraordinarily active body strike the first blows against slavery and enact a broad program of far-reaching economic legislation (including the Homestead Act, the Land-Grant College Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, the National Banking Act, and the Morrill Tariff), but, he contends, prodded "by shrewd and powerful legislative leaders [it] undermined presidential power and accelerated the trend toward congressional dominance of the national government." Indeed, says Curry, even the steps Congress refused to take—vigorous support of Negro colonization

and enactment of radical confiscation measures, for instance—were “pregnant with meaning” for the future.

Built primarily upon a careful reading of the *Congressional Globe* and an impressive number of manuscript collections, this is in many ways the most thorough account of Civil War legislation yet published. After an admittedly subjective description of factional alignments on questions of slavery and the war, the author follows each of the major pieces of civil legislation through the congressional maze. Each amendment, each referral to committee, each motion to delay or limit debate, and very nearly each vote along the way are duly recorded, often in prose that unconsciously parodies the *Globe*. Two additional chapters describe congressional attempts to dominate the executive and judicial branches.

While pointedly eschewing quantitative analysis, which he believes can “reveal little or nothing about the evolution of legislation and its impact,” Curry has nonetheless chosen to view the Thirty-seventh Congress largely from within, giving scant attention to extracongressional influences or, indeed, to the non-legislative roles of congressmen. (Thus Henry Wilson becomes a “more valuable senator” than his less “constructive” Massachusetts colleague Charles Sumner.) Unidentified lobbyists skulk now and then behind the scenes, and much of the Republican program is credited to “vested economic interests powerful enough to bring their views forcibly to the attention of legislators.” But the mechanism by which private pressure shaped public policy remains obscure and unprobed. The impact of the war itself goes largely unexamined despite its crucial influence on emancipation policy. Nor does Curry explore very effectively the influence of ante bellum political attachments and beliefs on the conduct of Civil War lawmakers. Senator James R. Doolittle’s support for colonization in 1862, for example, need hardly be “unexpected” to anyone who recalls his support of such proposals in 1858.

Blueprint for Modern America is a generally sound and useful study of an extraordinary Congress. But not until some historian combines the sociological insights of James Young’s *The Washington Community* with the rigor of Allan Bogue’s statistical analysis of voting behavior will we understand the full dimension of its achievement.

University of Wisconsin

RICHARD H. SEWELL

THE SOUTHERN TRADITION AT BAY: A HISTORY OF POSTBELLUM THOUGHT. By Richard M. Weaver. Edited by George Core and M. E. Bradford. (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1968. Pp. 422. \$7.00.)

RICHARD Weaver was a well-known conservative writer and professor of English at the University of Chicago, whose book *Ideas Have Consequences* (1948) first brought him prominence. The present book, written in 1943, was his doctoral dissertation. In form the work is a commentary on southern literature from, roughly, 1860 to 1910, with particular attention to the question of how southern writers defined the South and defended its ante bellum heritage. Occasionally Weaver’s comments are interesting, as when he points out that Henry Grady was as much a defender of the Old as the New South. Generally,

however, his comments are either conventional, well known, or so conservative (in the Burkean sense) as to be merely amusing.

This book is out of time in more ways than that its author is dead, his literary executor is dead, and the author of the introduction, Donald Davidson, is also dead. It is, rather, in its approach to the South and its distinctiveness that the book seems most removed from the living. Weaver's conception of the Old South is redolent of live oaks, Spanish moss, and myth, for, as he says at the very end of his book, that society was "*the last non-materialist civilization in the Western World.*" His discussion of the Negro, like his references to Reconstruction, is in the same vein and of interest only as a historical source, not as a modern commentary on southern thought. It is worth recalling, too, that the book was accepted in almost its present form as a doctoral dissertation at a major southern university only twenty-five years ago. Weaver even confesses that he would like to see women returned to the home and deprived of the vote, for the emphasis upon equality in the modern world, like the acceptance of science, he finds deplorable and wrong. In short, the book is a second generation *I'll Take My Stand*. Like William Percy's *Lanterns on the Levee*, Weaver's book is best read as an expression of the myths of the South, the war, and the southern gentleman, but in Weaver's case the form is not autobiography, but anachronistic scholarship.

Stanford University

CARL N. DEGLER

OLD VIRGINIA RESTORED: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE IMPULSE, 1870-1930. By Raymond H. Pulley. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1968. Pp. x, 207. \$6.75.)

HARRY BYRD AND THE CHANGING FACE OF VIRGINIA POLITICS, 1945-1966. By J. Harvie Wilkinson III. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1968. Pp. xvi, 403. \$6.75.)

THE course of Virginia politics since Reconstruction has been the subject of an impressive number of studies in recent years. The first of the two volumes being considered here, like much of the new work in modern Virginia history, had its inception in Edward E. Younger's seminar at the University of Virginia. It is a highly interpretive treatment of the state's political history from Reconstruction to the end of Harry Flood Byrd's administration as governor, with the central theme being the movement to restore the traditions and institutions of ante bellum Virginia. The second book was first presented as a senior thesis at Yale, where it won the William Clyde De Vane Prize for the outstanding paper in the university's 1967 Scholar of the House program. It is an illuminating study of the role of the Byrd organization in the state's politics since World War II and of the eventual demise of Harry F. Byrd's Virginia.

By the turn of the twentieth century, writes Raymond H. Pulley in *Old Virginia Restored*, a "tradition-oriented reform movement" was rapidly gathering strength in the Old Dominion. The movement was inspired by a determination to destroy the democratic features of the Underwood Constitution of 1869, to forestall further democratic revolts of the Readjuster and Populist type, and to

ensure political and social stability. The constitutional convention of 1901–1902 restricted the electorate to about the percentage of ante bellum days, initiated a series of social, economic, and administrative reforms, and led to a system characterized by elite rule, careful administration, and honest public service. This conservative movement, Pulley contends, was the essence of progressivism in the state; indeed, “the progressive impulse was synonymous with the Old Virginia mystique.” The author has made extensive use of manuscript materials and other rich sources. His analysis of the resurgence of Old Virginia traditions is persuasive, and his evidence raises some serious questions about earlier interpretations of Virginia progressivism as basically a liberal and democratic movement against political and economic privilege. Yet his own interpretation, which he argues insistently, is suggestive without being altogether convincing. One wonders if such categories as “old-time Virginians” and “traditionalists,” which are not sharply delineated, are adequate to explain political and social reform even in Virginia’s conservative society. Pulley fails to probe very deeply into the social basis of the state’s politics, to make clear what elements in Virginia society supported and opposed reform measures, or to tell us much about the Virginia progressives. He is perhaps too quick to apply the conclusions from studies of the progressive movement in other parts of the country to Virginia. And he may exaggerate the extent of the agreement underlying the state’s “consensus politics,” while underestimating the role of the antiorganization factions in forcing Democratic party leaders to endorse progressive changes. His book is, nevertheless, provocative, well written, and significant because of its challenging thesis.

Harvie Wilkinson’s comprehensive account of what Douglas Southall Freeman once described as the “invisible government” of Virginia begins with an analysis of the Byrd organization’s operation on the local, state, and national levels. The rest of the book is organized in chronological fashion around the governorships and important state elections since 1945, with a few chapters interspersed on such developments as massive resistance, urban growth, and the Republicans. Wilkinson has used an imposing array of sources, including seventy-five interviews, and he is notably successful in relating recent political changes to demographic and economic shifts. Although the work is not primarily quantitative, it includes many useful tables and election maps. Following the election of William M. Tuck as governor in 1945, when the organization won an easy victory on the old Byrd formula of a limited electorate and heavy majorities supplied by loyal courthouse rings, the state’s political hierarchy faced one challenge after another. The 1950’s were a time of troubles that culminated in the collapse of massive resistance, which in a sense represented the “last triumphant gesture” of the old order in Virginia politics. The mid-1960’s brought additional setbacks, including the metamorphosis of Governor Mills E. Godwin, an organization stalwart, into a moderate and forward-looking leader, and the shocking defeat of two of the three leading machine congressmen in the primary of 1966. Many factors conspired to undermine organization strength: rapid urbanization, Negro voting power, a Republican resurgence, reapportionment, repeal of the poll tax, and the Byrd leadership’s persistent neglect of public services. This is an absorbing, well-balanced, and clear-sighted study, filled with an understanding of the complexities of Old Dominion politics. It effectively revises the treatment of Virginia politics

in V. O. Key's classic work and provides a model that students of recent politics in other states might well emulate.

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM

JOSEPH L. BRISTOW: KANSAS PROGRESSIVE. By *A. Bower Sageser*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1968. Pp. 197. \$6.50.)

DESPITE its brevity and other deficiencies, this work by Professor Sageser has provided a useful initial study of the public career of Senator Joseph L. Bristow. Although it is not analytical biography, it does cover facets of the Kansan's activities hitherto unknown to those who have not labored through his papers. Bristow had become nationally known for his investigations of postal scandals under McKinley and Roosevelt and as a special commissioner of the Panama Canal project. His greatest moment came when he joined La Follette and others in the insurgency during Taft's administration. Following his one term in the Senate, Bristow was appointed to the Kansas utilities commission. Defeated for a second time in a Republican senatorial primary, he retired from politics in 1918.

The book includes two exceptional chapters: one concerns Bristow's crusade, as a young editor, for irrigation in western Kansas agriculture; the other deals with his opposition to the Wilson administration. These chapters are well written and well researched, but the remaining chapters suffer from either poor presentation, insufficient research, or an uncritical use of Bristow's manuscripts.

While Sageser claims in his bibliographical essay that "many books written on this period of history were used and cited in the footnotes," only two works dated later than 1960 are included. This probably explains why events such as the Ballinger-Pinchot affair are discussed on the basis of Henry F. Pringle's biography of Taft rather than of Elmo Richardson's study of conservation in the period. The omission of any mention of Kenneth Hechler's monograph is perplexing; Hechler interviewed Bristow while preparing his well-known study on insurgency.

Bristow's affiliation with the corrupt Republican "machine" in Kansas is not explored. Presumably, Sageser does not know that Bristow worked with George L. Beer and George Perkins in 1902 to secure the political backing of transcontinental railway officers in the senatorial election of Chester I. Long, the "conservative" whom Bristow defeated in an antirailroad campaign in 1908.

The value of Sageser's work is that it focuses attention on a neglected leader of progressive Republicanism. Considering the urbanist trend in historiography, the study will probably not fulfill the prediction Hechler made in 1940 that "when the full history of the progressive era is written Bristow will loom large as one of its key figures." Although the work is flawed, it represents the most detailed account yet published on progressivism within the Republican party of Kansas.

North Texas State University

ROBERT SHERMAN LA FORTE

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY: GENTLE PROGRESSIVE. By *Hugh C. Bailey*. (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 274. \$8.50.)

EDGAR Gardner Murphy (1869-1913) was a thoroughly southern man. He was born in Arkansas, grew up in Texas, went to college in Tennessee, and, as an

Episcopal clergyman, served as rector of St. John's Parish in Montgomery, Alabama. Even when Murphy vaulted to national prominence as a member of the Southern Education Board in 1901, as one of the organizers of the National Child Labor Committee in 1904, and as the author of popular books and articles on education, child labor, and race relations, he was concerned primarily with the South and its problems. There was, nevertheless, only a slight regional flavor to Murphy's brand of progressivism. In addition to his role as mediator of the conflicting claims of classes and interest groups, a role that typical members of the social welfare wing of progressivism played everywhere, Murphy also consciously tried to adjust sectional and racial antagonisms. Progressivism in the South, we learn again, possessed all of the traits of the national phenomenon.

Professor Hugh Bailey's portrait of Murphy as a humane conservative is thus compatible with current interpretations of progressivism as a search for an orderly, cohesive society. Murphy, like most progressives, was not challenging the basic distribution of power in society, a fact that implies certain limitations Bailey does not fail to note. Murphy was never willing to risk his position in the white community by an overly vigorous defense of Negro rights. His was a naïve belief in the willingness of the elite to act in accordance with transcendent principles and in the ability of that group actually to control events. In common with Americans of many times, places, and persuasions, Murphy had an exaggerated faith in education as the painless solution for social problems.

Such observations and comparisons are rare, however. Bailey's account is sharply focused on Murphy's public life and thought with few analytical flourishes, motivational probings, or sidelong glances at the nature of the movement to which Murphy was a significant contributor. The result is a well-researched, balanced, straightforward narrative that will serve as the standard authority on Murphy's career.

Princeton University

SHELDON HACKNEY

STATLER: AMERICA'S EXTRAORDINARY HOTELMAN. By *Floyd Miller*. (New York: Statler Foundation. 1968. Pp. viii, 240. \$5.95.)

BETWEEN 1900, when he opened a hotel at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, and his death in 1928, Ellsworth M. Statler became the Henry Ford of the hotel industry. He was the first of his profession to provide the American public with a standardized "room and a bath, for a dollar and a half." Voted the outstanding hotelman of the first half of the twentieth century during the 1950's, he acquired his first biographer in 1952, with the appearance of Rufus Jarman's flippant, inaccurate *A Bed for the Night*.

Professional historians have produced no book about Statler or his company, mainly because the Statler Foundation, presided over by his widow (and former secretary), has told interested scholars, including myself in 1958, that no Statler papers existed other than a small collection of clippings, memorandums, and letters that had been sent to the hotel school at Cornell University.

Recently the foundation commissioned Floyd Miller, the author of several "popular" biographies, to write an official biography, and *Statler* is the result. Mrs. Statler is to be commended for so frankly revealing her memories of her

employer and husband because she has enabled Miller to present the most accurate, detailed, and appealing portrait of the hotelman now in print. On the other hand, Miller sees Statler mainly through Alice Seidler Statler's eyes, ignoring the fact that his rivals and enemies also have their memories.

Except for information provided by Statler's widow and a few of his associates, the volume comes very near being a total disaster. Despite the claim that "prodigious research" was done, there are no footnotes, and the contents of the bibliography can be read in less than a week's time. Miller seemingly made no attempt to check the accuracy of anything he was told, including the ludicrous statements that Statler was the first hotelman to provide laundry service for his guests and that his father wrote the hymn, "The Spiritual Railway." Far more serious are other errors crediting Statler with innovations not his own, as well as some that greatly mislead the reader concerning his relationship with the American Hotel Association from 1910 to 1925 and others that concern his attitude toward the establishment of the "hotel department" at Cornell. A careful reading of the hundreds of volumes of hotel trade magazines housed in the New York Public Library would have prevented many of these errors. Statler deserves a better biography than this and a larger place in history than this volume could possibly secure for him.

North Carolina State University

DORIS ELIZABETH KING

EUGENICS AND THE PROGRESSIVES. By *Donald K. Pickens*. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 260. \$7.95.)

THIS is an exciting volume both in conception and design. It breaks virgin ground in recent research and raises many new and important questions. In tracing the history of the movement to improve the race through genetic control and in attempting to relate what was at that time a metascience to political and social forces, a clutch of basic human attitudes is exposed in a new light and from a different angle of vision.

The author has been as industrious as he has been innovative. Starting with the work of Sir Francis Galton, who originated and gave the name "eugenics" (from the Greek "well born") to the new doctrine, the author traces its many permutations through a host of American followers. In addition to its more scientific evolution by biologists, Professor Pickens deals extensively with its forensic development by journalists, university presidents, social workers, penologists, and politicians. The relevant ideas of such diverse people as E. L. Godkin, Herbert Croly, David Starr Jordan, Margaret Sanger, William Allen White, and Theodore Roosevelt are examined at length, as are the collateral subjects of birth control, sterilization, immigration, and the Negro question. After an exposition of the "Eugenic Creed," chapters are also devoted to its relationship with progressivism, to the fields of psychology and anthropology, and a final one to the decline of Galtonian eugenics during the New Deal days.

Although the author's research can be warmly praised, his presentation is unfortunately a horse of another hue. The book is very difficult to read, in part because of organizational, syntactical, and grammatical difficulties. It is clear that, this too hurriedly published doctoral thesis needed rethinking and much stylistic

reworking to sustain its obvious intrinsic worth. A much tighter control of definitions would have benefited the study, especially the attempt to relate the eugenic doctrine to the political and intellectual tides of the period.

The above criticism aside, this is an important volume. Its approach is new; the questions it raises are significant; its quotations are fresh. Directly or indirectly, it will have an impact on the writing and teaching of early twentieth-century American history.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

GEORGE E. MOWRY

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1913-1945. By *George Brown Tindall*. [A History of the South, Volume X.] ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press; The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1967. Pp. xv, 807. \$12.50.)

The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945, is indeed, if not the most distinguished book ever written on the South, certainly the most distinguished book to appear since C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. It represents a monumental achievement on the part of both author and press. Few scholars today would be either ambitious or patient enough to plow so much virgin historical land for a single volume. And indeed equally rare is the editor and the press willing to accept and print a volume of 731 pages (exclusive of a fine essay on authorities). Furthermore, Tindall's footnotes represent the most comprehensive bibliography yet assembled for the period of southern history he covers. In his research he delved widely and deeply in all printed and written materials. To these he added numerous interviews. All in all, given the paradox that is the modern South, George Tindall has succeeded in bringing out a book judicious in tone and so well put together that it will be a landmark for years. And for me Tindall posed an insurmountable task that can only be paralleled by the difficulty one would have in reviewing in the same essay and at the same time a space shot and a Sears Roebuck catalogue.

The *Emergence* has twenty chapters, each pregnant with suggested open-ended research areas. For many graduate seminar directors with their hordes of students Tindall has supplied the variety of unworked topics with documentation for scores of excellent dissertations and books. Each of these twenty chapters is a unit in itself, though strongly welded to the whole. And the author was willing to interpret his material, to make judgments, and to relate the parts to the whole synthesis. While currently teaching a course in the "United States between World War I and World War II," I became quite conscious of the fact that my lectures were "Tindallized." And so will be those of others, for this volume requires a reassessment of the role of the South in the history of the United States for the period covered.

Despite the lengthy and frequent citations (properly on each page) the *Emergence* is well written. But skillful writing cannot reduce the impact of so much material. While Tindall's analysis of the collapse of the cotton economy is sensitive and apperceptive and his insights into the plight of southern labor and management are skillful, it is in explaining the inconsistencies of southern politics that he is at his best. One can guess that the author was not wholly

sympathetic with the generation of demagogues of the Wilson era; still, he carefully assessed the role of each in the New Freedom. And his lack of sympathy with the Whig leadership in the southern Democratic party is obvious. Yet it is a rare passage indeed when Tindall moralizes. Thus one of the finest sections in the book is that comprised by four chapters on the South under the New Deal, which presented adequate opportunity to moralize on the failures and paradoxes (inherent and acquired) in southern political leadership. The *Emergence* covers the South from 1913 to 1945 thoroughly. No other book known to me so completely covers any area of the South's past. Everything and everyone are there: Will Alexander and Theodore Bilbo; the Ku Klux Klan and the NAACP; Howard W. Odum and the prohibition movement; Franklin Roosevelt and H. L. Mencken. The list could be continued indefinitely and is all-inclusive.

None of the other authors of volumes in this series tackled such a task as did Tindall. He is to be commended for his persistence in covering fully his assigned task and area. Any or each of his twenty chapters would have made a nice tight little volume. The temptation to pull off of this research project peripheral volumes must have been great. But the history of the South and the United States is much richer because Tindall kept his course and gave us a rich, fact-filled volume, marvelously balanced and with a grand overview of that period of southern history.

Tulane University

BENNETT H. WALL

AMERICAN RAILROAD POLITICS, 1914-1920: RATES, WAGES, AND EFFICIENCY. By *K. Austin Kerr*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 250. \$7.95.)

PROFESSOR Kerr has selected a crucial and significant period in American transportation history for his detailed examination of several interest groups as they sought to influence and control federal policy toward the railroads. The second decade of the twentieth century marked the end of a golden age for American railroads. After decades of hectic construction the railways of the nation had in 1916 reached an all-time high of 254,000 miles. This iron network was so complete that it had a near monopoly of transportation. In 1916 the Interstate Commerce Commission reported that the railroads of the country were carrying more than 77 per cent of the freight traffic and 98 per cent of the commercial intercity passenger business. But the first decade of the twentieth century also witnessed the good roads movement, the first airmail route, and the new and tougher railroad regulation of the progressive era.

The author traces in considerable detail the rival desires and concerns of railroad labor, management, investors, shippers, and commissioners in the half-dozen years prior to the enactment of the Transportation Act of 1920. Between 1914 and 1917 railroad managers, and investors, were defeated in their request to the ICC for an increase in freight rates and also had to capitulate on the eight-hour day issue before the combined efforts of labor, Congress, and the Supreme Court. In 1917 the mobilization needs and demands of modern war engulfed the railroads in an operational crisis that was climaxed in December by federal con-

trol and operation. During the war, labor found the Railroad Administration quite sympathetic to its wage demands, but McAdoo soon accepted several scientific management policies proposed by railroad managers and executives. This new managerial dominance in the federal operation quickly reduced the influence of both the shipper interests and the prewar regulatory system. After the war an intense struggle developed among the rival railroad interests to influence the congressional enactment of the Transportation Act of 1920. While this legislation was inevitably a compromise, Kerr believes that the prewar system of regulation was not fundamentally altered.

If this does not seem an exciting volume, it is only because many readers probably find railroad history rather dull in today's jet age. The author has a straightforward style and frequently adds new detail and depth to the story of railroad politics. His treatment of events leading up to the government seizure of the railroads late in 1917 is excellent. *American Railroad Politics* adds a significant chapter to the history of an important decade of American economic and political development.

Purdue University

JOHN F. STOVER

CONCERNS OF A CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRAT. By Charles Sawyer.

Foreword by John Wesley Snyder and Dean Acheson. Notes by Eugene P. Trani. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 399. \$10.00.)

IN 1948 President Truman appointed Charles Sawyer, "an unashamed partisan of business," to be Secretary of Commerce, from which position he had dismissed Henry A. Wallace, a prime bogeyman of business, only a year and a half earlier. Sawyer brought with him the resolve to counter those in the Truman administration who regarded the businessman as a "God-given whipping boy," to curb the creation of new government agencies, and to stem the flow of foreign aid. In *Concerns of a Conservative Democrat*, Sawyer recounts not only his adventures as a businessmen's Secretary of Commerce, but also his rise as a Cincinnati lawyer, a business leader, and a key figure in Ohio Democratic politics. Here are interesting accounts of such matters as General Leonard Wood's 1920 campaign fund, which was far less than had been supposed, and Sawyer's own campaigns against Governor Martin Luther Davey, who fought rough. Sawyer was a Jeffersonian Democrat, yet rather than join the Liberty League he steadfastly supported first Franklin D. Roosevelt and later Truman. He served as ambassador to Belgium in 1944-1946, negotiating the ten-year purchase of the entire uranium output of the Congo.

As Truman's Secretary of Commerce, Sawyer considered himself, together with Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, one of the two conservative members of the cabinet. He expressed his feelings in lengthy, emphatic letters to the President, which brought charming, appreciative replies but seldom any action. Although the main course of the administration was not in the direction Sawyer wished, he remained scrupulously and affectionately loyal, even when it became his unwelcome duty to administer the nation's steel mills, which Truman seized during a Korean War labor dispute. In subsequent years, Sawyer was stung by

Richard Neustadt's portrayal of him in *Presidential Power* as dragging his heels to negate the effect of the seizure. Neustadt wrote from the White House point of view. Sawyer, backed by contemporary documents, sets forth his side of the crisis in elaborate detail. The Department of Justice, where his long-standing and serious difficulties with the solicitor general, Philip Perlman, blocked Sawyer from getting crucial word to the federal court examining the seizure that there would be "no changes in wage schedules before the case was decided." Eugene P. Trani has added useful detailed notes to the memoir and has assured us throughout that Sawyer's memories are in keeping with the documents.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER AND THE RISE OF URBAN LIBERALISM. By J. Joseph Huthmacher. (New York: Atheneum. 1968. Pp. xi, 362. \$10.00.)

ROBERT F. Wagner, Sr., was one of the distinctive figures of modern American politics. Like his great good friends, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith, Wagner stood for the new politics of the cities, but he was able to remain friend to both FDR and Smith precisely because he was dominated by neither. Bob Wagner was always his own man, but he was also a very practical man. He never neglected the urban constituency that Al Smith so carelessly left behind him. He never moved from Yorkville to Park Avenue. And he never confused the twentieth century with nineteenth-century romanticism that so frequently commanded Roosevelt's emotions. As the tough, Tammany-directed majority leader of the New York State Senate, he had helped introduce Assemblyman Roosevelt to politics. As Manhattan's man, he had helped to educate Governor Roosevelt to the realities of the Great Depression. As New York's senator, he had pushed mightily to make President Roosevelt's New Deal stand for the interests of the unemployed, of labor, of the urban slum dweller. Yet he was never a Roosevelt follower; he often differed with the President and was frequently years ahead of FDR in matters of reform. He did as much as "the Boss" himself to mold the New Deal and to see it through Congress. At the end, with his concern for medical insurance, he was still ahead of Roosevelt.

Joseph Huthmacher shows clearly that Wagner's great contribution was his embodiment of the urban liberalism that so distinctively set off the politics of the 1930's and the 1940's from that of the progressive era. It is a happy chance that has now led Huthmacher, the historian who identified urban liberalism as a distinctive phenomenon, to write the biography of Wagner, its most dramatic practitioner. The result is both significant history and fine biography. Wagner comes alive for us, but the important thing is the perspective. At the end, one has a clear sense of young Wagner's importance in Albany and Manhattan, the mature Wagner's role in Washington, the aging Wagner's gradual loss of impact. And, throughout, one has seen Wagner as man, symbol, and force. No one of the roles has blotted out the others.

Built upon a ten-year study of the senator's personal papers at Georgetown University, Huthmacher's book makes its prime contribution in describing the precise relationships among Wagner and his colleagues in the development of

New Deal legislation. It is regrettable that space limitation and the author's decision to stress the senator's public life at the expense of his personal life have narrowed the range of detailed information provided. But this work appears at once a major contribution to the historiography of the New Deal and a significant extension of the important interpretive work begun in Huthmacher's earlier study, *Massachusetts People and Politics, 1919-1933*. It will remain one of the standard and essential sources for the study of twentieth-century American politics.

University of Vermont

ALFRED B. ROLLINS, JR.

AMERICAN CATHOLICS AND SOCIAL REFORM: THE NEW DEAL YEARS. By *David J. O'Brien*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 287. \$6.50.)

AMERICAN CATHOLICS & THE ROOSEVELT PRESIDENCY, 1932-1936. By *George Q. Flynn*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 272. \$7.50.)

IF religious affiliation is accepted as a valid criterion for differentiating segments of society, American Catholics constitute the nation's largest minority group, and it follows that their attitude toward such major movements as the New Deal ought to be of historical importance. It has been generally acknowledged that Catholics formed an integral part of the Roosevelt coalition and, at the same time, furnished some of the New Deal's most articulate critics, but it has never been clear what, if anything, the fact of their Catholicism had to do with their attitude. David J. O'Brien and George Q. Flynn, in two separate works, have shed much light on this issue and, in the process, have underscored the rich diversity present in Catholic thought by arriving at significantly different conclusions.

Both authors obviously feel that there is enough cohesiveness among American Catholics to justify their consideration as a separate entity. Many other scholars disagree, as Flynn in particular openly acknowledges, and it is not entirely certain that either author successfully answers all the objections that these critics have raised. Nor is it clear what effect the views of Church spokesmen had on the opinions of their followers; the difficulties in measuring such response are admittedly formidable. The care and precision with which O'Brien and Flynn draw their distinctions, though, serve to alleviate any serious misgivings.

O'Brien's main concern is with the intellectual underpinnings of the Catholic position, and he demonstrates an impressive mastery of the Church's social thought as expressed in the encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. Although there was almost universal agreement among American Catholics concerning the principles involved in these pronouncements, their application to the specific programs of the New Deal engendered widespread, often bitter disagreement. Church leaders were overwhelmingly sympathetic to the advent of the New Deal and, despite the carplings of Al Smith, Father Coughlin, and a few others, remained so throughout Roosevelt's first term. In time, however, concern over the augmentation of federal power, unhappiness over labor violence, a growing fear of Communism, and the intrusion of such foreign policy issues as the Spanish

Civil War alienated many Catholics. Even more basically, these events caused many to ponder whether Catholicism and Americanism, in the sense of the liberal, reformist tradition, were at all compatible.

Flynn's focus, on the other hand, is more on the political interaction between Catholics and the New Deal, which causes him to see greater unanimity of attitude and more positive results. Taking mild issue with O'Brien, he contends that many Church leaders understood the issues involved in specific reforms and welcomed the application of federal power to them, rather than being motivated by a vague general concern for the well-being of the downtrodden. Moreover, Flynn recognizes that, regardless of the anguish expressed by many of the Church's intellectual and spiritual leaders when the New Deal failed to measure up to their ideals, Catholic voters and politicians usually regarded themselves as being faced with concrete choices—Roosevelt or Landon, federal concern for social welfare or continuation of Coolidge-Hoover individualism. It should be noted, however, that Flynn carries his analysis only through the 1936 election, thus avoiding the period in which O'Brien found the greatest amount of disaffection, disaffection that seems to be foreshadowed in Flynn's discussion of recognition of the Soviet Union and the attitude of the United States toward the anticlerical revolutionary government of Mexico.

O'Brien concludes that many Catholic leaders, except for such liberals as Monsignor John A. Ryan, had decided by 1940 that the American reformist approach was at odds with the Church's conception of society. Viewing the New Deal as the creation of the eastern liberal establishment and feeling that Catholic influence, whatever its initial promise, was minimal, the American Catholic was almost as alienated as he had been after the crushing defeat of Al Smith in 1928. Flynn, on the other hand, is inclined to measure progress not by how much or how little Catholic thought influenced New Dealers, but rather to what extent Catholics were absorbed into the mainstream of national life. By that test, the thirties represented a period of great progress for Catholics, and the Roosevelt administration granted them the recognition that they had long sought. Anyone truly concerned with making a balanced judgment should read both books and weigh them according to his own system of values.

Eastern Illinois University

JOHN D. BUENKER

THE GOLDEN WEB: A HISTORY OF BROADCASTING IN THE UNITED STATES. Volume II, 1933 TO 1953. By *Erik Barnouw*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 391. \$9.00.)

THIS second volume of Mr. Barnouw's history of American broadcasting is as readable and lively as the first. It successfully relates the technical and social history of broadcasting to the political and cultural history of the United States from 1933 to 1953. Dealing with a period during which there were so many different strands in the history of broadcasting that it is difficult to achieve a satisfactory synthesis, it concentrates on one main theme—the growth of the giant American broadcasting networks that were unique in the world. The power struggles are well described; so too, though less fully, are their economic consequences. Yet Barnouw was handicapped by the lack of available documentary evidence,

and he has had to rely on recorded interviews with individuals and secondary materials. He has had no access to the business and institutional records of radio concerns, and consequently his history of decision making within the industry rests largely on speculation at the time or on current conjectures.

Political curbs on the domestic freedom of broadcasters after 1945 are described more fully than American broadcasting policies during the Second World War. The story of the war years, as told here, is indeed somewhat patchy. Interesting contacts were made with other agencies before the setting up of the Office of War Information in June 1942. The American Broadcasting Station in Europe (ABSIE) is described, but there is no account of the relationship between SHAEF, the American Army, and international broadcasting interests. Only a very small amount of space is devoted to American broadcasts designed for overseas. Given the focus of concentration, some neglect of this period is perhaps inevitable. It is also difficult, however, to sort out from the narrative presented in the last chapters of the book all the relevant themes in the background history of television, which was to transform the radio world so completely after 1953. This will, presumably, be the main theme of Barnouw's third volume.

The general conclusions about the influence of radio on the whole period, set out on the penultimate page, are more brief and less satisfying than the narrative. Did network broadcasting create a national in place of a regional consciousness? Did it strengthen the executive at the expense of other elements in the body politic and allow it to "manipulate whole populations towards action"? It would have been interesting to have had Barnouw's answers to such questions before he turns from sound radio to television.

University of Sussex

ASA BRIGGS

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By *Richard P. Traina*. [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 301. \$10.95.)

IN this detailed, factual study of the diplomatic records and the attitudes of the chief American policy makers toward the problems arising from the Spanish Civil War, Richard Traina is haunted, as he believes the diplomats of the 1930's were, by the knowledge that America was impotent to achieve world peace yet capable of accelerating the drift toward war.

Certainly the possibility of American leadership toward peace appears, in almost every event of the period, to have been limited. "Caught in the tide of old decisions," the author observes, "American policy began to drift. . . ." Creative statesmanship was uncommon in the Western world but, the author believes, it was in even shorter supply in Washington than elsewhere. President Franklin Roosevelt, for example, was at first indifferent toward the Spanish problem; later, when his sympathies for the Loyalists emerged, he was irresolute. Thus, largely by presidential default, determination of foreign policy fell to the State Department and to Congress. Secretary of State Cordell Hull was the key figure in directing American policy toward Spain for the first two years of the Civil War. He moved with characteristic caution to avoid being drawn into a general war abroad while recommending that European nations follow the example

of America's Good Neighbor policy and reciprocal trade program. In these endeavors he was so careful not to offend Congress that his department became, in effect, "the executive branch of Congress." In the decisions toward Spain, the author believes, the State Department and Congress did not justify the President's trust by fashioning a viable policy. Instead, they adopted a mandatory legal embargo that "represented the worst in policy making." It destroyed all possibility of bargaining by clearly stating in advance the inflexible direction American policy proposed to take. Aside from indecisive leadership and diplomatic ineptitude, the will to act and the armament necessary to the execution of an interventionist policy were lacking in the United States public agreement on policy. Even had America been willing to lead, England and France, wary because of past disappointments, would not have been willing to follow and were not themselves equipped for war. As in the earlier reaction to the Japanese move into Manchuria, American policy makers had open, in theory at least, several alternatives, but it becomes clear in this study that they were not, in political and diplomatic terms, equally accessible.

Students of American diplomatic history in general, as well as those concerned with New Deal diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War, will profit from this account drawn from careful research in many records heretofore unused.

University of Georgia

J. CHAL VINSON

THE HAWKS OF WORLD WAR II. By *Mark Lincoln Chadwin*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 310. \$7.95.)

AMONG one tribe of Indians in southern Venezuela it is customary for warriors to prepare for battle by singing the war song, "I Am a Meat-Hungry Buzzard." For some reason even the most bellicose American hesitates to identify with the buzzard, but he is quite prepared to think of himself as a hawk. In the eighteen months before the attack on Pearl Harbor those who wanted the United States to declare war on Germany organized, first in the Century Group and later in the Fight For Freedom Committee, to accomplish their mission. These war hawks are the subject of Mark Chadwin's book.

The Century Group assembled in the summer of 1940. Among more than two dozen participants were such diverse figures as Allen F. Dulles, Dean Acheson, Robert E. Sherwood, and Henry R. Luce. What the war hawks had in common, Chadwin asserts, was their place in the eastern establishment. They tended to be old-stock Protestants, with an Ivy League background, and they were usually conservative on domestic issues. Chadwin attributes their position to an ethnically derived Anglophilism, experience in international affairs, and, above all, to "their reasoned appraisal of the world political realities." While the Century Group remained an exclusive affair rather than a popular movement, Chadwin holds that in September 1940 it made a "major and possibly indispensable contribution" to the destroyer-base deal by helping to create a favorable climate of opinion, encouraging the President to act, and persuading Republican candidate Wendell Willkie to agree not to exploit the issue.

Their ineffectiveness in the months following this victory led the war hawks to create a more broadly based organization, the Fight For Freedom Committee,

in April 1941. Chadwin discusses its relationship with the President and other interventionist groups and describes its activities in great detail. Meetings were called, speeches made, advertisements placed, and petitions circulated. Special appeals were directed at labor unions, Negroes, Catholics, and ethnic minorities. Abusive personal attacks were leveled at prominent isolationists. Yet all these efforts could not turn the trick. At no time before December 7, 1941, did more than 21 per cent of the American people favor a declaration of war against the Axis Powers.

For some time now, historians have recognized the differences among isolationists and shown how their dismay at the drift toward war drove them to speak in increasingly strident tones. One of the merits of Chadwin's book is its demonstration that interventionists were also divided, nearly as frustrated with administration policy, and just as willing to resort to misrepresentation in their propaganda. Just as the attack on Pearl Harbor destroyed the isolationist America First Committee, so it put an end to its interventionist counterparts. Chadwin's account of these groups, while narrow in scope, is well written, clearly presented, and based on extensive research in the papers of leading interventionists. Still, he finds it difficult to decide how influential the Fight For Freedom Committee really was. He concludes: "The effectiveness of the interventionist movement remains debatable. The Warhawks failed in their main purpose of persuading the United States to go to war voluntarily. . . . Yet they did effectively contribute to America's eventual participation in the conflict."

Cornell University

RICHARD POLENBERG

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume IV, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 8366.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1968. Pp. vii, 1356. \$4.50.)

This volume contains papers relating to Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, and Italy and covers the period from the last campaign of World War II into the first stages of the cold war. Despite the great victory on May 8, 1945, it was a year of dashed hopes and rising fears. In a January 11 memorandum, the Division of Central European Affairs declared "Czechoslovakia is not expected to present any problems for American post-war policies concerning it," an attitude that lasted into the summer. The State Department was concerned with cooperating with the Russians to re-establish the legitimate government and with writing a trade agreement with the Czechs. By the end of 1945, however, there was great concern over the growing Soviet influence in Czechoslovakia and the need to counter it. To some extent this same concern was true for all of the countries covered here.

There was little that the US could do to oppose the Russians beyond sending diplomatic protests, however, for redeployment to the Pacific and later demobilization left the Americans almost powerless in Europe. In the first half year after the war ended, the US did not show much concern about this weakness, because, as this volume makes clear, the President and his advisers relied on the atomic bomb to provide the muscle for the budding policy of containing the Communists. Truman told De Gaulle in August that world security would be

ensured by the United Nations and "the atomic bomb will give pause to countries which might be tempted to commit aggressions." The trouble was that the Russian aggressions were taking forms that did not justify the use of the atomic weapons. As early as 1945, in short, the Americans were already discovering the limitations of the policy of massive deterrence.

There is a serious shortcoming in this volume. *Foreign Relations* is published under a Department of State regulation stating that the volumes will constitute "the official record of the foreign policy of the United States," and will include "all documents needed to give a comprehensive record of the major foreign policy decisions. . . ." Publication of the department's own records, primarily the exchanges between Washington and the ambassadors in the field, no longer suffices to meet that requirement. In this instance, the French, Italian, and Czechoslovakian stories are inadequately told because of the absence of the papers of the War Department. What Eisenhower had to say about French affairs was much more important than what Ambassador Caffery had to say; Eisenhower's exchanges with De Gaulle are far more significant than Caffery's exchanges with the French Foreign Minister. Yet none of Eisenhower's key messages are reprinted here.

In the postwar period that the series is now entering, the problem will increase rather than diminish as the CIA, the NSC, and other agencies become nearly as important as the State Department in setting foreign policy. *Foreign Relations* should either begin searching outside the department for its documents or change its directive.

Johns Hopkins University

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION: REAPPORTIONMENT IN LAW AND POLITICS. By *Robert G. Dixon, Jr.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xviii, 654. \$12.50.)

DURING the past fifteen years the United States Supreme Court has generated tremendous changes in three important areas of activity hitherto left largely to the discretion of the states: race relations, legislative apportionment, and the administration of criminal justice. This extraordinary burst of judicial activism has also generated some heated controversies in the complex world of American politics. In and out of Congress, the wisdom of the Court's thrust toward better democracy for more people, in terms of public policy as well as law, has been the subject of searching debate.

No one has to this date written a more penetrating inquiry into the nature, validity, and consequences of the Court's reapportionment decisions than Robert G. Dixon, Jr., professor of law in the National Law Center of George Washington University. The holder of a doctorate in political science as well as the law degree and a former teacher of political science, Dixon brings to his study of the reapportionment revolution a wide variety of analytical tools and skills, including computers.

That *Baker v. Carr* (1962) inaugurated a chain of events that can be labeled as revolutionary no one can doubt. For when the Court decided squarely that issues of legislative apportionment are justiciable, it did indeed thrust the courts,

both state and national, in the words of Justice Frankfurter, into a veritable political thicket. Frankfurter dissented at length and with great vigor in the *Baker* case, protesting that much more was at stake than merely equality in voting power, warning that fundamentally "competing theories of political philosophy" were involved, and insisting that our judges are not entrusted with the function of choosing among them.

Frankfurter's dissenting opinion in the *Baker* case describes the tone of Dixon's book, for its basic theme, repeated perhaps more often than necessary, is that the one-man, one-vote formulation is simplistic since reapportionment involves broader issues relating to the possession and distribution of political power. While the author is critical of the legal reasoning and historical data utilized by the justices, he does conclude that "the many-faceted reapportionment revolution is . . . an auspicious stage in the ongoing process of perfecting representative democracy."

At the same time Dixon makes it perfectly clear—and this is his major contribution to the subject—that the mere creation of election districts with equal population does not necessarily solve the problem of democratic representation, for the worst sort of gerrymanders can be accomplished even with districts having strictly equal populations. Beyond this, it should be noted that this book contains an enormous amount of factual information relating to the reapportionment struggle, in and out of the courts, nationally as well as in all of the states. This is a very solid example of research scholarship.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID FELLMAN

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES: ASPECTS OF CANADA IN THE VICTORIAN AGE. Edited by *W. L. Morton*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1968. Pp. 333. \$15.00.)

As Robert Frost noted, when some people travel they come home convinced that all they thought before was true. This collection of essays is such a journey, for it contains no surprises, investigates little unfamiliar territory, and confirms all that we had thought before. In a sense this is praise, for the social and intellectual history of Canada is not well charted, and to discover that the few existing charts would appear to be accurate is worth the journey. Some of the authors represented here were responsible for much of the earlier charting, in any case, and one cannot expect them to overturn their own findings. But in the end one feels that Canada in the Victorian Age was very much like Britain and the United States and that most of the clichés of thought and action associated with the notion of a Victorian era were present, here standing up to be accounted for. The volume is pleasant, entertaining, and often quite intelligent, but it cannot be said to be particularly new.

Professor Morton, a past president of the Canadian Historical Association, author of many closely researched and important books of his own, and a distinguished professor in Trent University, has perhaps allowed his contributors too free a hand. As he notes in his preface, the essays center upon the period of Confederation, and they relate to the intellectual and social life of Canada, but no other unity is present: many obvious themes are neglected; with one excep-

tion the essays dwell heavily on Upper and Lower Canada, to the neglect of the Atlantic Provinces and the prairie West; and there is no uniformity of length or of questions to which the authors address themselves. Indeed, since the format of the footnotes varies from essay to essay, as does the punctuation within the essays and the use of italics for quotations in French, the editor must have allowed each author more freedom than the admission that the "authors are responsible for their contributions" might ordinarily suggest. In any event, *Shield of Achilles* is a useful addition to the centennial publications, but it is not a cohesive exploration of what Thomas D'Arcy McGee was attempting to invoke in his well-known and self-consciously elegant oration of 1860, from which the title is taken.

Of the fourteen essays, two are written by Philippe Sylvain. They are, in fact, one lengthy, well-researched, and informative essay on French Canada's efforts to meet the interface of clerical liberalism and ultramontaniam, the essay being divided somewhat arbitrarily into portions, the first of which is misdated, and printed with four other essays intervening. Claude Galarneau and Pierre Savard contribute essays, also in French, on Vattermare and on French immigration. Galarneau's analysis is by far the most original piece in the volume, and it is one of the few to recognize the reality of class as well as ethnic differences. Morton comments on the general unawareness of class realities in a perceptive, concluding essay, and L. F. S. Upton provides a topology of the ways in which the idea of Confederation came to be considered in British North America prior to 1858. These essays, together with Anthony Rasporich's inquiry into Canadian imperial attitudes toward the Crimean War, are tightly constructed, and, in their data, they are full of new material. The other essays, save one, tend to be larger overviews: Goldwin French writes on the evangelical creed in Canada, S. F. Wise examines some ways in which Canadians divined that God smiled upon them, Laurence S. Fallis examines the "Idea of Progress" in Canada, Alan Gowans writes on architectural assumptions at mid-century, R. H. Hubbard provides a quick look (in which he much underrates Lord Monck) at the governors general, and Jean Usher tells us, in an essay that is potentially one of the best, of how William Duncan, an Anglican lay missionary, established at Metlakatla a "model Indian community." There are several interesting photographs, notes at the end of each essay, no bibliography or index, one typographical error, and a mistaken notion or two: Canada did not abolish slavery in 1793, and slavery was not abolished "in Great Britain" forty years later, page 179 notwithstanding. But the wisdom of publishing a volume dedicated to bilingualism (only Jacques Monet, although writing on French Canada, does so in English) far outweighs these venial sins.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

UNEQUAL UNION: CONFEDERATION AND THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT IN THE CANADAS, 1815-1873. By Stanley B. Ryerson. (New York: International Publishers. 1968. Pp. x, 14-477. Cloth \$8.50, paper \$3.75.)

Unequal Union is the second volume in Stanley B. Ryerson's attempt to write the history of Canada from the viewpoint of a Marxist. His first volume

carried the story down to the end of the War of 1812 and concentrated particularly on material development of New France and the impact of the British conquest on that society. In this volume he begins with the story of the reform movements of the postwar period and works his way down to 1873 when it might be said that the general territorial configuration of Canada had been completed.

There is also a polemical chapter at the end of the book where Ryerson attempts to dissect and destroy the views of Professor Fernand Ouellet and the now Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre E. Trudeau, on the subject of French-Canadian nationalism, historical and contemporary. It is hard to take this last section very seriously, though it does make explicit certain of the assumptions underlying the rest of the book. It is also an interesting attempt to offer some historical justification for the current Canadian Communist party line on the subject of Canadian federalism and the relations between French and English Canadians.

Within the Marxist framework, Ryerson has written a fairly successful book. There can be no doubt that much Canadian history turns around economic themes. Ryerson is hardly the first to discover that. He is an undeviating Marxist, however, and his conjuring with the class struggle at every stage of Canadian history often seems to go beyond the evidence he is able to offer in support of his thesis. The same is true when he comes to deal with the question of French-Canadian nationalism. A statement such as appears on page 46 in reference to the political struggles in Lower Canada before 1837 is a case in point: "The struggle in Lower Canada started with the resistance of the French Canadians to national oppression" stands all accepted views on their heads and needs more proof than is offered here. Nevertheless Ryerson does succeed in reminding his readers that political conflicts do take place in a social and economic context, and that, in itself, makes the book worth reading.

The author is least convincing when he takes up the cause of Quebec nationalism, for his concern for the present damages his historical judgment. Most readers will want much more evidence and much less dialectic before they accept his criticisms of Ouellet's massively documented studies. As for Ryerson's differences with Trudeau, they might best be left to the adjudication of the electorate since they are in the realm of political polemic, not historical analysis.

Harvard University

RAMSAY COOK

THE DOUKHOBORS. By *George Woodcock* and *Ivan Avakumovic*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. 382. \$7.50.)

Woodcock and Avakumovic have written an important study of a group known to many people only because of the sensational activities of a few of its "Sons of Freedom" minority. Arson, dynamiting, and public nudity, far from being typical of Doukhobors, are relatively recent manifestations of the frustration that has resulted from a long history of conflict with the conformist demands of Canadian governments on both the national and provincial levels.

The sect began in Russia in the eighteenth century, as did other messianic, millenarian, and communitarian groups. The Doukhobors have been distinctive partly because of the personalities of their sometimes hereditary leaders such as

Peter (the Lordly) Verigin, who survived Siberian exile to rule those of his people who migrated to Canada, going first to the empty prairies being developed by Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton at the end of the nineteenth century and then to the Kootenay region of British Columbia, where other leaders led and misled the faithful until the time of Florence Storgeoff, "a 250-pound giantess known for obvious reasons as Big Fanny," who died in 1964 when the more spectacular "Sons of Freedom" activity had apparently ended.

In the view of the authors, "the Doukhobor problem reflects the history of a land where the spacious makeshift life of the pioneers, which had room for quite large pockets of eccentricity, began to disappear as soon as land grew scarce and authority moved in." In my opinion, pockets of eccentricity, some quite large, still survive in Canada, where mutual accommodation has taken place between majority and minority values. While the eccentricities of the Doukhobors and their leaders cannot be discounted, this presentation demonstrates clearly to me that most of the blame for lack of accommodation must be borne by those Canadian officials who appear here, at best, as unreflective exponents of the conformist majority society. These include Frank Oliver (Sifton's successor), Prime Minister R. B. (the Deporter) Bennett (1930-1935), and various British Columbia politicians from the time of "Honest John" Oliver in the 1920's down to the present.

In collecting their information the authors have drawn upon long personal experience of observing the Doukhobors in Canada and have done an excellent job of using the relatively small quantity of published and manuscript sources in Russian and English. They describe a sect that traditionally rejected literacy, believing that "the letter kills," and that still emphasizes oral tradition. The result of their research and writing is a history that is both a significant contribution to knowledge and a pleasure to read.

San Jose State College

J. A. BOUDREAU

THE POLITICS OF THE YUKON TERRITORY, 1898-1909. By *David R. Morrison*. [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 12.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. vi, 136. \$4.75.)

THIS monograph is a study of "political behavior in an environment of economic decline." The Yukon, opened in the 1830's, was not exploited until the 1870's when the Alaska Commercial and the Northern Trading and Transportation Companies began development of the lumbering and coal mining industries. When gold was discovered in the Klondike in 1897, settlers, the majority of whom were citizens of the United States, arrived by the thousands. With the decrease of placer gold, however, the economy could not sustain the population, and it declined sharply. The remaining "Yukoners" soon became critical of the Canadian government for not finding solutions to their problems.

The Yukon Act of 1898, sponsored by the Minister of Interior, Clifford Sifton, conferred executive power upon a commissioner, assisted by an appointed council responsible to the federal cabinet in Ottawa. Official ineptness, inadequate communications, and unsatisfactory mining regulations resulted, however, in the formation of pressure organizations such as the Miners' Association and the

Citizens' Committee. When the governor general visited the Klondike in 1900, he was presented with a list of grievances including demands for an elective council, representation in the House of Commons, and better transportation facilities. In 1902 the federal government did grant representation in the House of Commons and provided for three elected members on the council, but further unrest occurred when reserve claims were made to a British mining expert, A. N. C. Treadgold. Although the Treadgold concession ultimately was revoked and Frederick Congdon was appointed commissioner (1903-1904), matters did not improve. Not until William McInnes was named commissioner and Frank Oliver was made Minister of Interior did agitation subside, primarily because "stagnation and decline" had set in. With the outbreak of World War I a simple government by the gold commissioner assisted by an advisory council was established.

While this monograph is extremely narrow both in time and space, it is worthy of recognition. Unfortunately, the narrative is too brief. Colorful historical figures do not emerge adequately, and cursory mention of fascinating events leaves the reader asking for more information. Professor Morrison has, nevertheless, presented a compact, well-documented analysis of an intriguing and little-known facet of Canadian imperial history.

Winthrop College

ROSS A. WEBB

THE DAFOE-SIFTON CORRESPONDENCE, 1919-1927. By *Ramsay Cook*. [Manitoba Record Society Publications, Volume II.] ([Winnipeg: the Society.] 1966. Pp. xxiii, 310. \$7.50.)

THE 1920's were critical years in Canadian history, although many problems were shelved, not solved. Political parties were in disarray, the nation was sharply divided ethnically and regionally, class consciousness had never been as pronounced, and Canadian industry had belatedly caught up with its American counterpart in regarding the country as a giant field for open exploitation. In addition, the war had stimulated a new national consciousness and demanded a resolution of the now-ambiguous political and constitutional connection with Great Britain. Two of the most astute observers of the Canadian scene were John Dafoe and Clifford Sifton. Dafoe was the editor of the *Free Press* of Winnipeg, the most influential paper in the west and, under his editorship, a journal of national stature; Sifton was the owner of the *Free Press*, but had moved east in 1896 to enter federal politics and had since left politics and become a leading member of the industrial-financial establishment.

Not only did both men have uncommon political astuteness and unusual sources of information, which makes their correspondence a first-rate source for the period, but their views on most broad matters of public policy were also remarkably similar. Both believed in lower tariffs, although Dafoe was more the free trader; both were among the foremost advocates of national independence for Canada, although Sifton was basically an isolationist and Dafoe increasingly an internationalist; both championed the western interest as against the policies supported by the eastern industrial and financial interests.

There were, of course, many differences between the two intelligent and strong-willed men, but their broad harmony of views and deep-seated mutual respect led to a lengthy association, with Sifton at best as *primus inter pares*.

Although much of the correspondence has found its way into secondary literature, the published collection is a very useful volume. Professor Cook has edited it with care and written an introduction that succinctly provides the personal and political context for the Dafoe-Sifton letters.

York University

JOHN T. SAYWELL

CANADA IN WORLD AFFAIRS. Volume X, 1957-1959, by *Trevor Lloyd*; Volume XII, 1961-1963, by *Peyton V. Lyon*. [Published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968; 1968. Pp. vi, 253; x, 555. \$7.50; \$10.00.)

THESE two volumes are a welcome addition to the growing literature on Canadian foreign policy. Along with the previously published volume by Richard Preston (*Canada in World Affairs*, Volume XI, 1959 to 1961 [*AHR*, LXXII (Apr. 1967), 1126]), they complete the story of Canada's external relations during the six years (1957-1963) of John G. Diefenbaker's Conservative administration—the first after almost a quarter of a century of unbroken Liberal rule.

To place the Diefenbaker period in its world and Canadian contexts, it should be noted that it spanned most of Dwight D. Eisenhower's second term and virtually all of John F. Kennedy's brief presidency; it coincided with the flowering of Nikita Khrushchev's Sputnik-inspired muscle flexing diplomacy and the Sino-Soviet struggle for leadership of the Communist world movement; it witnessed a fundamental shift in the distribution of world power, which sharply reduced Canada's postwar inflated international influence; it encompassed four bitterly fought general elections in June 1957, March 1958, June 1962, and March 1963; and it coincided with two major developments in Canadian public opinion: a strong desire for more of the international prestige that Canada had experienced as a result of its major role in bringing about the United Nations settlement of the 1956 Suez crisis, and a sharp resurgence of the endemic nationalistic feeling that the United States was once again taking Canada too much for granted in the conduct of its foreign policy.

This "combination of diminishing assets and rising expectations," both authors suggest, provides a major key to understanding the kind of foreign policy the Diefenbaker administration "unfortunately" felt compelled to pursue. In Lloyd's more reserved opinion, these circumstances "probably increased the risk that Canada would intervene in international affairs for the specific purpose of increasing her prestige even though the facts of power made it increasingly unlikely that this purpose could be achieved." In Lyon's more outspoken view, this combination of factors "led to a number of ill-conceived initiatives that seemed to be designed principally to impress the Canadian public; Canadian diplomacy was handicapped by being oversold. . . . Appearance . . . came to matter more than achievement; posture substituted for policy." It is not surprising, therefore, that neither author gives the Diefenbaker diplomacy high

marks, but only those as personally involved as Lyon will accept unreservedly his biting indictment "that a government of average coherence and competence could have managed Canada's external relations with greater success in the years 1961-3" than did the Diefenbaker administration. Before turning academic Lyon had served for six years as a Foreign Service officer in the Department of External Affairs. His resignation in 1959 was presumably prompted by his disagreement with—Lloyd describes it as "hostility to"—the Diefenbaker foreign policy. As he himself states in the preface, "I cannot claim to have been a detached observer of the events covered by this volume. While assembling my material, I was moved to write articles, and a short book [*The Policy Question: A Critical Appraisal of Canada's Role in World Affairs* (1963)], suggesting means by which Canadian policies might be strengthened. Although I have tried to be fair, my own convictions about the events of 1961-3 have not been suppressed."

Despite the title, *Canada in World Affairs*, both volumes clearly demonstrate that for Canada the world is mainly its giant neighbor, the United States. Canadian-American relations—political, economic, and military—are the theme of almost half of Lloyd's 253 pages and of more than half of Lyon's mammoth 555 pages. With regard to the controversial nuclear weapons issue, particularly as it affected the North American Air Defence (NORAD) agreement of 1957, both authors, but especially Lyon, are critical of the Diefenbaker government's nationalist-inspired failure to accept what they regard as the clear and logical implications of its military commitments. (Lyon's 147-page chapter, "Defence: To Be Or Not To Be Nuclear?" is an excellent account of this controversy.) Both authors likewise subscribe to the view that Diefenbaker's personality and his "willingness to make bold speeches" tended to exacerbate Canadian-American relations in general and to intensify in particular the anti-Americanism that characterized much of Canadian public opinion during most of his administration.

Both volumes are well researched and well written; the Oxford University Press has also done well by them, including the admirable but now too rare practice of putting the footnotes at the bottom of the page. An inconvenient omission, however, is the absence of a bibliography of the numerous works and articles cited. Similarly, a select chronology of the major international and domestic developments during the period discussed would be most helpful in overcoming the confusion that is occasionally engendered by the topical approach used by both authors. But these are minor flaws in the otherwise over-all excellence of these two studies.

Washington, D. C.

MURRAY G. LAWSON

CAPITALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA:
HISTORICAL STUDIES OF CHILE AND BRAZIL. By *Andre Gunder Frank*. (New York: Monthly Review Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 298. \$7.50.)

Most Marxist and non-Marxist historians of Latin America have been in strange agreement, despite the use of differing terms, on one major question regarding that area's past: Latin America has long been undergoing a process of "Westernization" or of "modernization" or of "capitalist revolution" in an effort to emerge

from "traditionalism" or "feudalism." Whether this process has been slowed by the grip of a "traditional world view" or by the opposition of "imperialism," the capitalist stage of economic development there would still lie in the future.

But in recent years the failure of the national bourgeoisie to react as had been predicted has forced several writers, especially Marxists, to re-evaluate the historical framework they had constructed. Andre Gunder Frank has joined this effort and here elaborates upon the mechanics through which Latin America has steadily "underdeveloped." The Iberians, he points out, were already impelled by capitalism at the time they discovered and began the settlement of what is today Latin America. Profit making subsequently characterized mining ventures and plantation enterprises alike. Merchant bankers and, later, British and American capitalists were always in firm control.

Frank sees the capitalist system extending from the countinghouses of Seville or, later, from the chambers of "the City" or, later still, from the offices of Wall Street out through a chain of satellites—each of which is also the metropolis of its own hinterland—and down to envelop the life of the humblest and most isolated Indian peasant of Latin America. The very development of the metropolises determined the underdevelopment of the satellites since the former expropriated "surplus value" from the latter, just as today the growth of, say, industrial São Paulo determines the underdevelopment of predominantly rural northeastern Brazil. Such development as has occurred in Latin America has been an involuted one made possible by the temporary loosening of the grip exercised by the metropolis, and it is always destined to be cut off whenever the latter recovers its strength or interest.

Frank, a University of Chicago-trained economist who taught in Latin America from 1962 to 1966 but is now at Sir George Williams University, has not engaged in historical research with the original sources, but has built his reinterpretation on data gathered from secondary works. Indeed, one of the values of his book is the translation of key passages from recent Marxist historians and the critical review of their work. It is also valuable in drawing attention to the fact that formulas for development derived from the growth of Western Europe centuries ago are useless in Latin America simply because this area is not Western Europe and it is now the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, the four sections of the book—on Chile, on the "Indian problem," on Brazilian economic history, and on Brazilian agriculture—are put together from previous studies and are therefore extremely repetitious. As for Frank's general argument, it is weakest when he tries in a very cursory fashion to explain why some colonial areas, like the United States, managed to become metropolitan while other regions became ever more satellited. His explanation is that such areas as the United States were never really reduced to satellite status, but he does not specify at what empirically determinable point an area may be said to have become a satellite. Frank has, nevertheless, effectively proposed a conceptual framework that should stimulate the use of new historical approaches and has thus performed a valuable service for historians, Marxist or not.

University of Utah

RICHARD GRAHAM

LA EVOLUCIÓN ECONÓMICA RIOPLATENSE A FINES DEL SIGLO XVIII Y PRINCIPIOS DEL SIGLO XIX A LA LUZ DE LA HISTORIA DEL SEGURO. By *Enrique Wedovoy*. [Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Departamento de Historia. Monografías y tesis, Number 7.] ([La Plata:] Universidad Nacional de La Plata. [1967.] Pp. 355.)

THE title of this work promises interesting reading to a student of Latin American history. The Bourbon economic reforms of the eighteenth century had special import for a remote area like the Río de la Plata, and the British invasion of the early nineteenth century, with all its economic implications, excites more than passing interest. It is unfortunate that the book does not even mention these topics.

Let it quickly be stated that this is not a criticism of the author for not writing a book I wanted to read. It is simply an attempt to show how misleading a title can be. This book uses the history of one insurance company to deal with "economic evolution of the Río de la Plata area" in only the vaguest, most deductive sort of way.

In 1796 Julián del Molino Torres founded the marine insurance company *La Confianza* in Buenos Aires. The company lasted less than five full years. Little is known of its operation; less about its demise. I suspect that the author has dug out every available fact since his well-annotated bibliography, including documental materials, is fulsome and exhaustive. But the whole story of *La Confianza* does not in itself add up to a medium-sized article.

The author has, however, used it as justification for a sketchy general history of the evolution of the whole concept of insurance as a business. This consumes 153 pages of 323 pages of text. Another 48 pages deal with Spanish legislation on insurance, the operation of some Spanish companies, and some brief notes on maritime activities during the viceregal period. Then follow the 42 pages on *La Confianza*, after which the author wanders off for his remaining 78 pages into a general discussion of such topics as insurance, corporations, and capitalism.

All this is pulled together by several generalized conclusions that may very well be true, but, rather than being based on historical facts, they are "obtenida por via deductiva."

Temple University

CLEMENT G. MOTTEN

"DIEGO PORTALES: INTERPRETATIVE ESSAYS ON THE MAN AND TIMES." By *Jay Kinsbruner*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. 102. 14.35 gls.)

To stimulate fresh interest in the accomplishments of the nineteenth-century Chilean statesman Diego Portales, Professor Kinsbruner has contributed this slim but provocative volume of interpretive essays. Portales' career and political ideas between 1829 and 1835 occupy the first half of the book, in which the author challenges the generally held view that the Chilean leader was a conservative and instead identifies him as a "classical liberal" along the lines of Locke and Montesquieu. Such labeling does little to clarify Chilean politics in the postindependence period, for a number of influential Chileans also called themselves "liberals" and supported limited government, federalism, and a weak execu-

tive, all of which Portales strongly opposed. More effective is the contention that conventional historiography has erred in viewing Portales as a behind-the-scenes absolute ruler. In fact, Kinsbruner demonstrates, President Prieto at times operated quite independently of Portales, who lived in semiretirement between 1831 and 1835.

Historians of various ideological persuasions generally have agreed that the Constitution of 1833, which established a strong central government and which endured until 1925, was largely the creation of Portales working in league with the landed aristocracy. The second essay in this volume, which is devoted largely to analysis of the constitutional convention debates, suggests that the traditional view is oversimplified. Kinsbruner argues persuasively that businessmen and capitalists also backed a powerful state, while landed aristocrats were not unanimous in its support. But the author's startling assertion that the business community "was already the most potent force in Chile by 1832-33" is undocumented. If correct, Kinsbruner's interpretations may bring about a revision of much nineteenth-century Chilean history, but extensive research will have to be done first. After a third essay, which briefly examines Portales' policies between his return to the ministry in 1835 and his assassination in 1837, the book concludes with a stimulating historiographical study.

University of Washington

CARL SOLBERG

RELACIONES DIPLOMÁTICAS HISPANO-MEXICANAS (1839-1898): DOCUMENTOS PROCEDENTES DEL ARCHIVO DE LA EMBAJADA DE ESPAÑA EN MÉXICO. Series I, DESPACHOS GENERALES. Volume IV, 1846-1848. Selection and notes by *Javier Malagón Barceló et al.* ([México, D. F.:] Colegio de México. 1968. Pp. 281.)

JAVIER Malagón Barceló, the editor of this series of books on the diplomatic relations between Spain and Mexico from 1839 to 1898, went to Mexico from Spain as a refugee. For years he was associated with *El Colegio de México*. For many years he was secretary for the Commission on History and served in Washington, D. C., with the Pan American Union. He is presently secretary of the Committee on Programs and Fellowships in the Organization of American States. His many published works include *Toledo and the New World in the 16th Century*, *The First Political Constitution of the Dominican Republic*, *Spanish Legal Literature*, *Documents of the 18th Century of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo*, and a host of others.

Mexico did not recognize the Spanish government of Francisco Franco. Loyalist and other refugees took over the Spanish embassy in Mexico City. As a courtesy to the host country, the embassy permitted Mexicans and Spanish refugees to use and publish the archives of that embassy. The full story is told by the Loyalist Spanish ambassador, Luis N. D'Oliver, in the first volume in this series published by *El Colegio de México*. This book is valuable for the documents it contains, which are not found in print elsewhere. It is difficult to write a book on documents, but this volume helps in understanding the aims and desires of Spain as they were allied by friendship to Mexico and the Mexican people. The idea of Spanish hegemony over Mexico never did die out with the advent of the

Mexican Revolution, even though it actually ended with Maximilian. Researchers using this book will find five documents wherein Spain tried to use its good offices to mediate what we in the United States call the Mexican War. Documents containing French offers to mediate in the same war were also found.

State University College, Brockport, New York

FRANCIS J. MANNO

THE EAST INDIAN INDENTURE IN TRINIDAD. By *Judith Ann Weller*. [Caribbean Monograph Series, Number 4.] (Río Piedras: Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico. 1968. Pp. xxii, 172. \$4.00.)

THE economic development of Trinidad in the second half of the nineteenth century required the provision of a cheap, docile, but nonservile labor supply. The planters' needs were met by the introduction, under imperial and colonial supervision, of indentured migrants from India. An assessment of the motives and methods of a system that was unwittingly to complicate the island's problems would have been welcome; unfortunately, this account leaves much to be desired, both in description and in judgments.

Professor Weller has depended heavily upon a limited range of official materials and rarely ventures beyond a conscientious chronicle of laws and ordinances. The establishment of the post of Protector of Immigrants and the provision of a labor code indicate imperial concern with the well-being of the immigrants, but little is said of the practical consequences. Since we are told that "after investigating even such problems as strikes, the Protector reported that the complaints were usually 'frivolous,'" and, as no reference is made to proceedings against the planters for their frequent breaches of regulations, it seems only too likely that the regulations protected the master more effectively than the man.

What were the aims of colonial policy? After 1868 "both the Government and the estates seemed content . . . to leave the schooling of immigrants almost entirely to the Canadian missions." Sixteen pages later it is declared that "the British in the nineteenth century were always conscientious regarding education in Trinidad." This uncertainty is in tune with the concluding reflection that "at no time did the indenture system quite deserve the senseless charge of Colonial Imperialism." A senseless charge does not merit a partial acquittal. Nine appendixes overshadow a brief, confused, and uninformative bibliography that might well have been expanded at the expense of a complete list of medical supplies carried by emigrant ships.

McGill University

PETER MARSHALL

FOR SCIENCE AND NATIONAL GLORY: THE SPANISH SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO AMERICA, 1862-1866. By *Robert Ryal Miller*. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume LV.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 194. \$5.95.)

DURING the only spell of comparative serenity in the reign of Isabel II (1833-1868), Spain dispatched a fleet to South America on a good-will mission that ended in a ridiculous war with the Pacific Coast republics. With this expedition was a party of eight natural scientists who went to gather information about New World

wonders and, incidentally, to exalt the cultural grandeur of the erstwhile mother country. They were not in any way a screen for Spanish aggression, as many Latin Americans later charged. Their story has never been publicized in any enduring way because most of them died prematurely and Spain underwent great disorders soon after the mission returned. Professor Miller has done an exemplary job of putting together the story of the scientific expedition from the diaries of three participants, correspondence, forgotten government records, and other archival materials. His book is brief, readable, well made, and endowed with excellent maps and illustrations.

The party left Cádiz in August 1862 and returned to Madrid by January 1866. From the first the scientists felt themselves victimized by the naval officers, and eventually they broke away from the ill-fated fleet. They spent some months on the coast of Brazil and met the Emperor and other naturalists. Here, as in every place they went, they searched with amazing industry for items of geology, botany, archaeology, anthropology, botany, and zoology. Usually they were well received in Brazil and elsewhere by political figures of high rank and by local scientists. Feuding with the ship's officers became so severe that part of the scientific group chose to go overland from Montevideo to Chile, while the others visited the Falkland Islands and went around Cape Horn or through the Strait of Magellan. All apparently avidly collected specimens and artifacts. After a stay in Chile the party divided, some to penetrate the mountains of Bolivia and Peru and others to inspect the coastal deserts. Four sailed with the fleet to San Francisco, and one went to the west coast of Central America. Reunited in Chile, the mission found itself isolated in a hostile atmosphere because of the naval war between Spain and Peru in 1864.

Eventually four of the naturalists disregarded orders to sail home and made an epic crossing of South America from Guayaquil to Belém. Their zeal to collect specimens in the volcanoes of Ecuador, the jungles, and the Amazon seemingly never flagged. Tribulations that might have deterred the conquistadors or other explorers of great fortitude were surmounted.

The mission sent or brought back more than eighty thousand items. An exhibition in Madrid in 1866 was well attended, and the collections have presumably edified generations of Spanish students and scientists of other lands. The author claims no major discoveries for the group, and he is perhaps wise in attempting only hesitant evaluations of its contribution to science. Yet the mission was an unqualified success in view of its modest purposes. Although much of the account is a travelogue, and a delightful one at that, Miller is sure footed enough in Latin American history to sketch revealing incidents and conditions of significance to historians. An annotated publication of the diaries of the three scientists who kept them would be welcome.

New York University

JOHN EDWIN FAGG

* * * * *Association Notes* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association will meet at the Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., December 28-30, 1969. John William Ward of Amherst College is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Thomas T. Helde of Georgetown University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

RECENT DEATHS

Sister Cecilia Daly of St. Louis, Missouri, died October 30, 1968.

Temple B. Lewis of New York City died November 17.

Stanton C. Peelle, Jr., of Chevy Chase, Maryland, died in November.

John J. Coonan III of Trenton, New Jersey, died December 7.

Jules Pugach of Brooklyn, New York, died January 28, 1969.

The death of Professor Wallace Notestein on February 2, 1969, at the age of ninety, removed one of the most vivid figures in the historical profession. During his long and distinguished teaching career, which began at the University of Kansas in 1905 and led him, by way of Minnesota and Cornell, to a Sterling Professorship at Yale (1928-1947), generations of students were exposed to his highly contagious enthusiasm. It was perhaps his salient characteristic, and it made him the teacher he was. The chief aspect of it as revealed in the classroom was enthusiasm for Britain, which he loved deeply yet with discrimination—its countryside, its universities, its literature in general and poetry in particular, and, above all, its history. His undergraduate lectures, though not always models of organization, were charged with a memorable excitement, and the same quality turned his seminars into intellectual adventures.

Another outlet for his enthusiasm was the search for manuscripts. He had a collector's passion for muniment rooms, and taught his graduate students that a cache of unexplored documents was the finest gold a scholar could hope for. If students who caught this passion were subsequently led by it into other areas of history, he was unperturbed; the period or subject of their research concerned him far less than the quality of their ore. He kept in touch with them, often by notes of telegraphic and even cryptic brevity, and watched their progress with parental interest.

The clear and natural writing of history concerned him as much as the sources. He cared about style in others, as in himself, and set his students to reading nineteenth-century models, with a warning against nineteenth-century solemnity. In his own writing a sense of craftsmanship disciplined his innate ebullience, to produce a prose that was at once smooth and fresh. He was so much at home with the language that he could use it informally, and he had an eye for the apt example and the revealing quotation.

Over the years his wide interests and learning led him into an impressive variety of subjects. His books began in 1913 with a history of witchcraft in Elizabethan and Stuart England and ended with a study, completed just before his death, of James I and Parliament. Notestein's eminence as a research scholar was due largely to the nine volumes of source materials that he edited between 1921 and 1935, alone or with others, on the Commons debates in the Parliaments of 1621, 1629, and the opening months of the Long Parliament. In 1924 he demonstrated his analytic and interpretive power in the Raleigh Lecture that has become a classic, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*. Two of his later works, *English Folk* (1938) and *Four Worthies* (1956), are vignettes of people in his period who particularly intrigued him. Although his other two books, *The Scot in History* (1947) and *The English People on the Eve of Colonization* (1954), are the broad surveys that their titles suggest, they also contain numerous vivid sketches of individuals; he never lost sight of the trees in viewing the woods.

This catalogue indicates how widely he traveled through the fields of history, from witches to parliamentary committees, from rural nobodies to Sir Walter Scott, but no catalogue can indicate how much he gathered on his travels, or the way in which his reading and writing nourished his enthusiasm. To the very end his mind sparkled with ideas. They made him an exciting person to be with, and they will keep his memory green. For, to quote his favorite elegy, "Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take."

Hugh Hale Bellot, Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History at University College from 1930 to 1955 and vice-chancellor of the University of London from 1951 to 1953, died February 18. He also served as honorary secretary and president of the Royal Historical Society and was responsible for the appearance of *Writings on British History*, which was published by the society.

Archibald Smith Foord, professor of British history at Yale University, was born on August 13, 1914, in Stamford, Connecticut, and died in London on March 14. In February he had gone through King George III's unprinted papers in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle and had begun to write a history of the Georgian monarchy. "The Waning of 'The Influence of the Crown'" (1947) is one of the most frequently reprinted articles from the *English Historical Review*; his book, *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830*, received the American Historical Association's Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in 1965. It will stand for this generation as the classic account of the formative period in the history of that institution, one upon which parliamentary government so greatly depends. A charming essay, "The Only Unadulterated Whig" (1967), exhibits Foord's light humor with his graceful prose, and it presents, amusingly, Horace Walpole's wit and the *esprit* of Georgian England.

In 1940, Foord began his teaching career at Yale (B.A., 1937; Ph.D., 1942). He went to war in 1942, served in the United States Navy at the Quonset Naval Air Intelligence School and at sea, becoming a lieutenant commander. He returned to Yale in 1946 and collaborated in producing the series of "Select Problems" in European and British history (1948-56). Foord had an orderly mind, and clarity and order marked his writings and his teaching. His lectures

in large undergraduate courses were direct, clear cut, and forceful, and to graduate students he was a constructive and sympathetic teacher, one who demanded close thinking and a careful appraisal of evidence. As a departmental colleague he was friendly, good natured, and hard working. An expeditious administrator, Foord served Yale University loyally from 1955 to 1964 as the Master of Calhoun College. The American Historical Association has lost a fine historian, one constantly learning, and a true scholar who died while reading, a book in his hand.

Martin R. P. McGuire, professor of Greek and Latin and of ancient history at Catholic University, died March 15, at the age of seventy-one. From 1937 to 1948 he served as dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences at Catholic University, and he was a senior editor of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* and an associate editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*.

Bernadotte E. Schmitt, President of the American Historical Association in 1960, died on March 22 in Alexandria, Virginia, at the age of eighty-two. Although he had been ill for some time and had suffered a stroke in 1968, Schmitt remained active almost to the day of his death, reviewing new monographs, revising his manuscript on the World War I period intended for "The Rise of Modern Europe" series, and taking a lively and productive interest in the affairs of the AHA.

Born in Strasburg, Virginia, Schmitt received his A.B. from the University of Tennessee in 1904 and his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1910. In the meantime, he was one of the first Rhodes scholars at Oxford, where he was a member of Merton College and took a first-class degree in modern history. After almost fifteen years at Western Reserve University, punctuated by wartime service in the US Army, he went to the University of Chicago in 1925. From 1939 until his "retirement" in 1946 to an active life of governmental service and further scholarship, he was Andrew MacLeish Distinguished Service Professor. As a demanding and imaginative first editor of the *Journal of Modern History* from 1929 until 1946, as editor in chief of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, and as special adviser to the Historical Division of the US Department of State, he made important contributions to historical study and public policy. But it will be for the brilliance of his pioneering scholarship on the diplomacy of the years before World War I that Schmitt will be especially remembered. Despite its title, *England and Germany, 1740-1914* (1916), his first book was mainly concerned with the decade before the war broke out. Its conclusion that Germany must bear a major share of responsibility for allowing the war to come was a position that he maintained throughout his career. That conclusion was impressively supported in Schmitt's most important publication, the two-volume work entitled *The Coming of The War: 1914*. Published in 1930, it won for Schmitt the Pulitzer Prize as well as the George Louis Beer Prize of the American Historical Association. Yet his assessment of war guilt, already under vehement, and sometimes personal, assault by so extreme a controversialist as Harry Elmer Barnes, was also subjected to vigorous attack by the more temperate revisionists who followed the analysis developed by scholars such as Sidney Bradshaw Fay. Accused of being "pro-British" and "anti-German," Schmitt continued to make

his argument in a series of important articles and books, of which perhaps the brief *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente* (1934) and *The Annexation of Bosnia, 1908-1909* (1937), were the best known. He had the satisfaction, after the German documents were opened in the wake of World War II, of seeing the scholarly world acknowledge that his reading of the issue of responsibility had stood the test of time and of new evidence much better than the rather amorphous revisionism still embalmed in too many textbooks of modern European history.

At the University of Chicago students approached the rather austere and aloof Schmitt with some trepidation, only to discover that he was a shy and generous man who was very much interested in them and their work. As he grew older he mellowed well, and his marriage in 1939 to the wise and charming Damaris Ames accelerated the process. For at least one generation of students he became "Uncle Bernadotte," a warm and affectionate mentor and adviser. Many of them in the 1950's and the 1960's treasured the visits to his home in Alexandria that were often the high points of research or business expeditions to Washington. In his later years Schmitt took great pleasure from the fact that three of his books, including his first, were selected for reprinting at about the same time. Deeply attached to Oxford, he journeyed to England with Mrs. Schmitt in 1967 to help celebrate the seven-hundredth anniversary of the founding of his beloved Merton College. The honorary D.Litt. that Oxford bestowed upon him at that time gratified him almost as much as the fact that he had been made an honorary Fellow of Merton in 1966. The historical profession as a whole will mark the passing of one of its most distinguished scholars. And many historians, young and old, will remember with satisfaction their good fortune in having known so genuine and loyal a friend.

John H. Wuorinen, a retired professor at Columbia University and an authority on Scandinavia, died April 10, at the age of seventy-one. He was a life member of the Association.

Roman S. Smal-Stocki, a professor at Catholic University, died April 29, at the age of seventy-six.

Other members of the Association who have died recently include: William M. Harrigan of Buffalo, New York, and Howard N. Stern of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Focusing on essays by Eugene D. Genovese and myself, Aileen Kraditor's review of *Towards a New Past* (*AHR*, LXXIV [Dec. 1968], 529) uncritically accepts one side in a significant debate developing among Left historians and offers a polemic against the other. Genovese defines ideological hegemony as "the seemingly spontaneous loyalty that a ruling class evokes from the masses through its cultural position and its ability to promote its own world view as the general will." Following Antonio Gramsci, the twentieth-century Marxist theoretician from whom Genovese derives the concept, many socialists today see the construc-

tion of a coherent alternative ideology as an essential task. But a concept drawn from a hortatory contemporary context may seriously mislead if mechanically imposed on the past. Most history did not happen through the presentation of coherent alternative ideologies. The desire to *make* it happen that way should not obscure the fact that much of history consists of struggles among people holding to not entirely coherent and only partially alternative ideologies. Rigidity in definitions of politics, ideology, and coherence may lead us to dismiss, as mindless and "nihilistic," attitudes and acts which nonetheless moved history.

How do we know when an ideology is in fact hegemonic? Examination of ruling elites will never tell us. Construction of "hegemonic mechanisms" is no guarantee of hegemony. We can test hegemony only by looking into the minds of the "inarticulate"; neither accommodation nor rebelliousness is proved until we do so. External conduct is a very gross measure of so complex an affair as "loyalty," and enormous complexities prevent a definition of "to rule" as synonymous with "to evoke loyalty." The search for accommodation in history can be at least as misleading as the search for rebelliousness. The vast area between the two extremes, comprising most of human history, is being explored in fruitful ways by such innovative historians as Thompson, Gutman, Hobsbawm, and Rudé.

The central methodological theme of my essay, misrepresented by Kraditor, is to challenge generalizations about whole societies that rest on research only on elites. I noted many such generalizations which could not pass the test of conservative standards of evidence and proof, as, for example, a description of an entire population based on the contents of a "blue-book"; an assertion that employees could vote based on evidence which showed only that their employers could. "So long as our techniques of research foreclose the possibility of our finding anything but consensus," I wrote, "the case for consensus will be unproved." Generalizing from my methodology and my findings, I asked whether, in the light of imprisonment, "salutary neglect" was an appropriate description of British colonial policy. I noted the inadequacy of theories of manipulation of crowds based on uncritical acceptance of the testimony of British officials and other reports from the top. Claims about the manipulation of the Boston Tea Party rest on such evidence as the speculation by a merchant the following day that the affair had been conducted so efficiently that there must have been "People of sense and more discernment than the vulgar among the Actors." (Kraditor twists my questioning of such evidence and my assertion that we do not in fact know who threw the tea in Boston Harbor into "he *admits* that we really do not know who they were [*italics mine*].") I attempted to remedy an obvious imbalance in recent studies and to propose a more reliable methodology. Kraditor is oblivious to Barrington Moore's advice that historians should be skeptical of the claims of those who rule and who thus have "the most to hide about the way society works."

When I note instances of the revolutionary nationalism of the "inarticulate," Kraditor rightly notes that this hardly weakens consensus interpretations. I agree. I set out to question the *presumption* of consensus, to subject it to the kind of tests which its exponents have avoided, to reject it when it fails those tests, and to accept it when it passes them. Untested, neither consensus nor hegemony stands on very strong evidence.

Kraditor sees in my analysis of the ideology of the founding fathers a denial that their beliefs were "sincere and part of a legitimate ideology." But I said, for example, "One need not question the sincerity of [John] Adams' belief in balance to note that he is interested in balancing rich and poor . . . [;] while Paine and Woolman would agree with him that 'the rich are *people* as well as the poor, . . . they have rights as well as others,' it does not necessarily follow that the rich 'have as clear and as *sacred* a right to their large property as others have to theirs which is smaller.'" Here is no suggestion that Adams' beliefs were "merely a hypocritical cover for a conspiracy to oppress"; although we would be foolish to deny the existence of hypocrisy in history, the issue is not Adams' sincerity but the meaning of his beliefs. Lyndon Johnson as President may have been sincere, and his ideology may have been "a legitimate reflection of . . . [his class's] place in the world"; our analysis of his policies must nonetheless go beyond his self-description. Readers may find the root of Kraditor's incomprehension of my work in her unquestioning acceptance of Genovese's bizarre proposition that "class responsibility is the highest test of morality." From this standpoint, sincerity, legitimacy, and justice all become synonymous.

Hegemony studies by such Left historians as Genovese and James Weinstein (*The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State*) are extremely valuable. We need studies of both the top and bottom of society and of the interrelations between the two (lest we fall into such absurdities as Genovese's contention that "the south, white and black, has given America some of its finest traditions and sensibilities and certainly its best manners. These were once firmly rooted in the plantation way of life and especially in the master-slave relationship."). To follow Kraditor and define the study of hegemonic mechanisms as *more* valuable, "top" on the "merit scale," while putting history "from the bottom up" at the "bottom" has a nice symmetry, but it limits history rather than advancing it.

Northwestern University

JESSE LEMISCH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The closing sentence of Professor Lemisch' communication is a perfect example of the sort of logic I criticized in his essay: because I found fault with an essay on "the inarticulate," I have *ipso facto* dismissed the entire genre. Nowhere did I "define the study of hegemonic mechanisms as *more* valuable," and what I placed at the top and the bottom of the merit scale were particular essays in *Towards a New Past*, not studies of hegemonic mechanisms and studies of history from the bottom up, per se. It is not the intention but the execution that ranks as essay on the merit scale; we certainly need well-documented and well-argued studies of the "inarticulate." I may go further and state that I endorse every sentence in the second paragraph of his communication, none of which conflicts with Marx's dictum that "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas."

Well then, since I believe that good studies of the inarticulate are needed and Lemisch believes that "Hegemony studies by such Left historians as Genovese and James Weinstein . . . are extremely valuable," where's the rub? It may perhaps be inferred from Lemisch' describing the last Genovese quotation as an "absurdity" without telling us why it is absurd. May we not infer that Lemisch,

like the Leftist historians of a generation ago, is eager not merely to fill a gap in our knowledge of the inarticulate but to portray the masses as morally superior to their oppressors? The first objective is one we can all applaud; the second can be achieved only by applying to historical data some suprahistorical values according to which all classes at all times should be "judged" by modern historians. In both the essay and the communication he shifts unknowingly from a methodological to an ethical principle, from a laudable agnosticism in regard to the consensus-conflict issue to a moral zeal that prejudices his findings.

That zeal also makes him distort what other historians write. Genovese did not say that "class responsibility is the highest test of morality." He said, "It is rather hard to assert that class responsibility is the highest test of morality and then to condemn as immoral those who behave responsibly toward their class instead of someone else's." Genovese was not proposing an ethical criterion by which historians might "judge" a class that lived a century ago; he was criticizing the inconsistency of living radical historians who in one breath proclaim their adherence to an ethic derived from the interests of the class they identify with (in this case the working class) and in the next breath condemn the ante bellum slaveowners for doing the same. To quote Lemisch, this "limits history rather than advancing it."

It is ironic that the epigram that those who will not learn from history are condemned to repeat it applies to historians too; New Left historians, rail as their activist comrades may against the "Old Left," repeat the errors of Leftist historians of the 1930's and 1940's. I refer particularly to two errors: The first, the antihistorical attitude mentioned in the previous paragraphs, I dealt with in my review and need not discuss here. The second is the economic-determinist assumption that objectively antagonistic interests necessarily generate widespread antiruling class ideas in every period. That Lemisch commits this error is apparent in his overgeneralizing from his evidence. For example, his statement on page 18 of his essay, "If deference ever existed, it was clearly gone when Americans began to describe the supporters of open balloting as 'the great and the mighty, and the rich, and the long Wiggs and the Squaretoes, and all Manner of Wickednesses in high places,'" is backed up by a citation of one issue of a New York paper. I am certain Lemisch has many such citations in his files, but all combined could they possibly justify such a sweeping inference? What they do prove is, as David Donald put it in his comment on the essay, "that the 'masses' in the American Revolution may have had their own democratic objectives and may have been fighting exploiters, 'whether they were Englishmen or Americans,'" which Donald rightly calls a "hoary thesis, advanced a generation ago by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., and Carl L. Becker, . . ." That thesis is not the same thing as the assertion that deference was "clearly gone." To echo Lemisch again, the search for rebelliousness in history can be at least as misleading as the search for accommodation.

Sir George Williams University

AILEEN S. KRADITOR

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have read with great interest the presidential address to the Association by Professor John K. Fairbank (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb. 1969], 861-79). He makes a

compelling argument for the greater coordination of efforts among Sinologists, linguists, behavioral scientists, and historians—to the end of a better understanding of China and a sounder American policy toward the Far East. More knowledge, more widely disseminated, seems indeed a most desirable goal.

But one who has a general faith in the benefits of scholarship and higher learning must be disheartened by what the address reveals about some of Professor Fairbank's own judgments. He is a distinguished and honored scholar who has studied more of China and American relations with the Far East than we can reasonably expect of members of an aspiring younger generation. Yet he concludes, in the final page of his felicitous address, that United States involvement in places like Vietnam has come about "*mainly through an excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence . . . [italics mine].*" Most political observers around the globe would consider this statement (except as self-image) a striking misperception. (Professor Fairbank barely mentions in his address the influence of such concepts as the "national interest," the "domino theory," and basic geopolitical maxims.)

I am not raising this point as a challenge personally to Professor Fairbank, whom I highly respect. What I wish to raise, in all seriousness, is this basic *educational* question: what is wrong with a system of studies that leads to impressive comprehension of historical data, yet permits a gross degree of misperception with respect to the *core* of the matter?

Michigan State University

THOMAS H. GREER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Misperception of context can permit even the best of us to lift a phrase out of context without realizing that he is doing so. The passage that inspired Professor Greer's letter reads as follows: "The study of American foreign missions and their long-continued conditioning influence at home needs no special advocacy in an age when we get our power politics overextended into foreign disasters like Vietnam mainly through an excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence, under a President who talks like a Baptist preacher and who inherited his disaster from a Secretary of State who was also a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church. Plainly the missionary impulse has contributed both to the American swelled head and to its recent crown of thorns."

In the key phrase, "power politics overextended . . . mainly through an excess of righteousness and disinterested benevolence," the term "disinterested benevolence" was one of the watchwords of the early missionary movement a century and a half ago. My suggestion is that our noblest motives have contributed much more to our overexpansion than we realize. Our self-image I regard as part of our motivation. As to the "national interest," I refer to it on page 869. My reference on page 873 to "the Chinese culture area" implicitly denies the "domino theory." Pages 862–863 are dangerously geopolitical. Professor Greer does not himself identify what he considers "the *core* of the matter." I happily infer he will support the study of American-East Asian relations.

Harvard University

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am puzzled by the comments, in Professor Cavanaugh's review of Frederick Artz's *The Enlightenment in France* (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb. 1969], 1007), that Artz does not clearly describe or define the nature of the Enlightenment and does not "illuminate its enduring, unambiguous contributions to modern thought." Chapter II and the conclusion deal with both matters. To be sure, Artz does not adopt Lester Crocker's or Peter Gay's approach, but must he? In his conclusion Artz notes the impact of the Enlightenment on "all the social sciences" and on the French Revolution, surely movements that made enduring contributions to modern thought. In this book that treats so much in 153 pages, Artz's major error apparently was not to have written a book of 800 pages.

Oberlin College

ROBERT SOUCY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Unlike myself, Professor Soucy appears satisfied with the treatment in *The Enlightenment in France* of the nature and content of Enlightenment thought. Readers must judge the matter themselves, but I should maintain that a perusal of, for example, pages 31-32 and 40-43 would raise immediate and serious doubts as to the adequacy of that treatment. As for Professor Soucy's other points: (1) A reference to or a discussion of another scholar's interpretation does not entail the adoption of that scholar's approach. (2) It does not suffice merely to note repeatedly the Enlightenment impact on "all the social sciences." What is wanted is a discussion of the specific contributions to those sciences. In the present work only Montesquieu's "sociological" approach is considered and that only cursorily. (3) We may well note a relationship between the Enlightenment and the Revolution, but as *The Enlightenment in France* illustrates (pp. 151-53), I think unwittingly, that relationship remains vague, ambiguous, and even contradictory. Finally, in short works especially, what matters most is not inclusiveness but clarity and consistency.

University of California, Berkeley

GERALD J. Cavanaugh

Index

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume LXXIV

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The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books reviewed are indexed under author, title (titles are sometimes inverted to be more meaningful), and subject. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R); communications are designated by (C). Proper names with the prefix "da" or "de," "van" or "von" are ordinarily indexed under the surname, except in those cases where custom is otherwise.

- "À l'arrière-plan des relations franco-maghrébines (1830-1881): Luis-Arnold et Joseph Allegro, consuls du bey de Tunis à Bone," by Martel, 241
- "Aachen, Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Regierungsbezirks," by Bruckner, 199
- Aandahl, Fredrick (R), 203
- Aaron, Daniel, *et al.*, "Essays on History and Literature," ed. by Bremner, 101
- Abbot, W. W. (R), 703, 709
- Abbott, Freeland, "Islam and Pakistan," 1069
- Abbott, Nabia (R), 129
- Abd-el-Krim. *See* Woolman, D. S.
- "Aberdeen Coalition, 1852-1855: A Study in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Party Politics," by Conacher, 996
- Abernathy, G. R., Jr. (R), 165
- Abrams, R. M. (R), 313
- "Abschreckung oder Volkskrieg: Strategische Machtplanung der Sowjetunion und Chinas im internationalen Kräfteverhältnis," by Dahm, 1250
- Abshire, D. M., "The South Rejects a Prophet," 307
- "Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Einzeldarstellungen: Festschrift zu Ehren Sr. Exzellenz P. Dr. Marian Tumler O. T. anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstages," ed. by Wieser, 1645
- "Acta Historiae Neerlandica," I, 196
- "Acta Musei Napocensis," IV, ed. by Daicoviciu *et al.*, 220
- Adair, D. C. (deceased), 422
- Adalard. *See* Cabaniss, Allen
- Adam, Ruth, and Muggeridge, Kitty, "Beatrice Webb," 1631
- Adamec, L. W., "Afghanistan, 1900-1923," 262, 695
- Adams, A. E. (R), 675
- Adams, H. M. (R), 1651
- "Adams, Charles Francis, Diary of," III and IV, ed. by Friedlaender and Butterfield, 722
- Adăniloie, N., and Berindei, Dan, "Reforma Agrară din 1864," 664
- Adenauer, Konrad, "Erinnerungen 1953-1955; Erinnerungen 1955-1959," 207
- "Aden-Grenze in der Südarabienfrage (1900-1967). Die Adener Grenzkommision (1901-1907)," by Plass; "Überblick über die englisch-jemenitischen Beziehungen unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Süd-Jemenanspruchs (1900-1967)," by Gehrke, 1051
- Adler, Jacob (ed.), "The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho," 292
- Adler, Selig (R), 112, 328
- "Afghan War, The First, 1838-1842," by Norris, 614
- "Afghanistan, 1900-1923: A Diplomatic History," by Adamec, 262, 695
- Africa, T. W., "Science and the State in Greece and Rome," 116; (R), 1254
- Africa: book reviews, 239-48, 680-86, 1055-60, 1333-34, 1678-81; lists of articles and other books received, 387-92, 822-26, 1157-61, 1432-37
- "Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade," ed. by Curtin, 244
- "African Thought, The Origins of Modern: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," by July, 683
- "African Zion: The Attempt to Establish a Jewish Colony in the East Africa Protectorate, 1903-1905," by Weisbord, 1057
- "Africanobyzantina: Byzantine Influences on Negro-Sudanese Cultures," by Papadopoulos, 1262
- "Afrique au xx^e siècle," by Ganiage *et al.*, 240
- "Age of Adversity: The Fourteenth Century," by Lerner, 1606
- "Age of Expansion: Europe and the World 1559-1660," by Kamen *et al.*, ed. by Trevor-Roper, 1579
- Agrarian history: Adăniloie and Berindei, "Reforma Agrară din 1864," 664; Gaskell, "Morvern Transformed," 169; Hayter, "The

- Troubled Farmer, 1850-1900," 734; Neuskykhin, "Sud'by Svobodnogo Krest'ianstva v Germanii v VIII-XII VV.," 130; Prodan, "Iobăgia în Transilvania în Secolul al XVI-lea," I and II, 661; Rotelli, "I catasti imolesi dei secoli XIX e XX," 1320; Swierenga, "Pioneers and Profits," 1723. *See also* Texas
- "Agraviados, La guerra de los," by Torras Elías, 1016
- "Agricoltura veneta dalla caduta della Repubblica all'unità," by Berengo, 1321
- "Agricultura mesopotamica nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen: Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung," by Salonen, 1589
- Agricultural history: Berengo, "L'agricoltura veneta dalla caduta della Repubblica all'unità," 1321; Gates (ed.), "California Ranchos and Farms, 1846-1862," 291; Jackson, "Planters and Speculators," 1689; Rutman, "Husbandmen of Plymouth," 270; Salonen, "Agricultura mesopotamica nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen," 1589
- "Akbar the Great," II, by Srivastava, 259
- Akhtamzian, A. A. (ed.), "Istoriia Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii i Vneshnei Politiki SSSR, 1917-1967 GG.," I, 675
- Akinjogbin, I. A., "Dahomey and Its Neighbours, 1708-1818," 245
- "Aland Islands Question: Its Settlement by the League of Nations," by Barros, 1304
- Alasseur, Claude, "La Comédie Française au 18^e siècle," 184
- Alba, Victor, "Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America," 781
- "Albert, Prince, and Victorian Taste," by Ames, 610
- Albertini, Rudolf von, "Dekolonisation," 111
- Albion, R. G. (R), 712
- Alden, C. S. (deceased), 422
- Alden, Dauril (R), 267
- Alexander, J. W. (R), 1604
- Alexander, P. J., "The Oracle of Baalbek," 1597; (R), 149, 558
- Alexander, R. J. (R), 781, 786
- Alexander, T. B. (R), 1372
- "Alexander the Great: Power as Destiny," by Bamm, tr. by Brownjohn, 1594
- Alexandre, Pierre, *et al.*, "Décolonisation et régimes politiques en Afrique Noire," 239
- Alger, C. F., *et al.*, "Quantitative International Politics," ed. by Singer, 941
- Allardyce, Gilbert (R), 1298
- Allegro, Luis-Arnold and Joseph. *See* Martel, André
- "Allemagne et le Maroc de 1870 à 1905," by Guillen, 108
- Allen, H. W., and Clubb, J. M., *The Cities and the Election of 1928: Partisan Realignment?* 1205-20
- Allen, R. V., lists of articles, 384-86, 819-21, 1155-56, 1430-31; (R), 1609
- Allen, Richard, "Malaysia," 1071
- "Alliances and Small Powers," by Rothstein, 1614
- Altholz, J. L. (R), 612
- Altschul, Michael (R), 137
- "Ambasciatori genovesi, Istruzioni e relazioni degli," VI, ed. by Ciasca, 212
- "Ambassadors, Early Venetian Legislation on," by Queller, 141
- Ambrose, S. E. (R), 1005, 1749
- "America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1966," by LaFeber, 113
- "America and Swaraj: The U.S. Role in Indian Independence," by Hope, 1586
- "América colonial: Población y economía," 339
- "America in the Sixties: An Intellectual History," by Berman, 775
- "American Building: Materials and Techniques from the First Colonial Settlements to the Present," by Condit, 1348
- "American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years," by O'Brien, 1745
- "American Catholics & the Roosevelt Presidency, 1932-1936," by Flynn, 1745
- "American Challenge," by Servan-Schreiber, tr. by Steel, 630
- "American Church History, Reinterpretation in," by Beaver *et al.*, ed. by Brauer, 1698
- "American Civil War, Essays on the," by Vandiver *et al.*, ed. by Holmes and Hollingsworth, 737
- American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression. *See* Friedman, D. J.
- "American Culture, Historical Writing in," I, by Loewenberg, 1072
- "American Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War," by Traina, 1747
- American Historical Association: annual meeting, 1968, 421, 1457-59; annual meeting, 1969, 1763; business meeting, 1968, 1476-81; council meeting, 1968, 847-52, 1463-76; report of the executive secretary for 1968, 1459-60; report of the managing editor for 1968, 1460-62; report of the treasurer for the period beginning September 1, 1967, and ending June 30, 1968, 1462-63; Service Center for Teachers of History, 1178
- American Historical Review, Index*, 1935-1955, 1955-1965, 1178
- "American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay," by May, 1101
- "American Indians, Origins of the: European Concepts, 1492-1729," by Huddleston, 267
- "American Medical Profession, The Formation of the: The Role of Institutions, 1780-1860," by Kett, 708
- "American Politics, The Origins of," by Bailyn, 701
- "American Printer, 1787-1825," by Silver, 710
- "American Radicalism, Intellectual Origins of," by Lynd, 1077
- "American Railroad Politics, 1914-1920: Rates, Wages, and Efficiency," by Kerr, 1742

- "American Reform: The Ambiguous Legacy," ed. by Walden, 284
- American Revolution: Clark (ed.), "Naval Documents of the American Revolution," III, 1712; Flexner, "George Washington in the American Revolution (1775-1783)," 276; Head, "A Time to Rend," 1359; Kammen, "A Rope of Sand," 1356; Schlesinger, "The Birth of a Nation," 1357
- "American Science in the Age of Jackson," by Daniels, 281
- "American West: A Reorientation," ed. by Gressley, 298
- "Americans and the French," by Brinton, 115
- "Americans and the Soviet Experiment, 1917-1933," by Filene, 322
- "Americans from Wales," by Hartmann, 275
- "America's Political Dilemma: From Limited to Unlimited Democracy," by Dietze, 702
- Ameringer, C. D. (R), 1127
- Ames, Winslow, "Prince Albert and Victorian Taste," 610
- "Amiens, capitale provinciale: Étude sur la société urbaine au 17^e siècle," by Deyon, 625
- Amin, A. A., "British Interests in the Persian Gulf (1747-1778)," 680
- "Ammianus and the Historia Augusta," by Syme, 1596
- Amoja, Fulvio D', "Declino e prima crisi dell'Europa di Versailles," 660
- Anastos, M. V. (R), 560
- Anchor, Robert (R), 104, 653
- Ancient history: book reviews, 116-26, 554-57, 955-61, 1252-60, 1589-98; lists of articles and other books received, 351-56, 790-95, 1133-37, 1403-1406
- Ander, O. F. *See* Dowie, J. I.
- Anders, Leslie, "The Eighteenth Missouri," 1372
- Anderson, E. N., and Anderson, P. R., "Political Institutions and Social Change in Continental Europe in the Nineteenth Century," 581; (R), 642, 1652
- Anderson, Edgar (R), 198
- Anderson, G. L. (R), 291
- "Andersonville Prison, History of," by Futch, 1374
- Andrews, K. R. (R), 152
- Andrews, S. P. *See* Stern, M. B.
- "Anfänge Täuferischer Gemeindebildungen in Franken," by Bauer, 1307
- "Anglo-Latin Literature, A History of, 597-1066," I. by Bolton, 962
- "Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England," by Curtis, 613
- "Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917-1921," II, by Ullman, 585
- "Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England," by Norman, 612
- "Antike Kultur und das Christentum," by Gigon, 123
- "Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History," ed. by Hall, 1077
- Anweiler, Oskar, *et al.*, "Revolutionary Russia," ed. by Pipes, 674
- "Arab-Israeli Dilemma," by Khouri, 1053
- Arab Legion. *See* Vatikiotis, P. J.
- "Arabia, South: Arena of Conflict," by Little, 1052
- Archaeology: "Crete, A Land Called," 1590; Grimes, "The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London," 1258; Liversidge, "Britain in the Roman Empire," 1258; McDonald, "Progress into the Past," 117
- "Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945," by Lane, 1314
- Argov, Daniel, "Moderates and Extremists in the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1883-1920," 1339
- "Armée rouge assassinée: 22 juin 1941," by Nekritch, tr. by Bennigsen, 1618
- Armenia. *See* Hartunian, A. H.
- Armstrong, J. A. (R), 677
- Armstrong, M. W. (deceased), 422
- Armstrong, W. H. G., "Yesterday's Tomorrows," 943
- Arnade, C. W. (R), 1128
- Arndt, E. M. *See* Wiegand, Günther
- Aronson, Theo, "Defiant Dynasty," 1644
- Arragon, R. F. (R), 1260
- Arrington, L. J. (R), 1075
- "Arrow War: An Anglo-Chinese Confusion, 1856-1860," by Hurd, 1581
- Art: Braunfels and Schnitzler (eds.), "Karl der Grosse," III, 132; Bunting, "Houses of Boston's Back Bay," 288; Crawford, "Andrew Law, American Psalmist," 1361; Donnelly, "The New England Meeting Houses of the Seventeenth Century," 1349; Egbert, "The Mediaeval Artist at Work," 128; Grimsted, "Melodrama Unveiled," 1363; Lane, "Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945," 1314; Mathews, "The Federal Theatre, 1935-1939," 327; Stanton, "The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture," 1349; Wallace, "John Rogers, the People's Sculptor," 308. *See also* Frontier; Texas
- "Artist on the Overland Trail: The 1849 Diary and Sketches of James F. Wilkins," ed. by McDermott, 733
- Artola, Miguel. *See* Calonge Matellanes, M. P.
- Artz, F. B., "The Enlightenment in France," 1007; (R), 544
- Ascher, Abraham (R), 109
- Asia and the East: book reviews, 248-66, 686-98, 1060-71, 1335-45, 1682-94; lists of articles and other books received, 393-96, 827-30, 1162-65, 1437-42
- "Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations," by Myrdal, 693
- "Asian Frontiers: Studies in a Continuing Problem," by Lamb, 1335
- Askew, W. C. (R), 583
- Aspinall, A. (ed.), "The Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770-1812," IV, 605; (ed.), "The Later Correspondence of George III, Published by Authority of Her

- Majesty Queen Elizabeth II," III, 605; IV, 169
- Assante, F. *See* Corbino, Epicarmo
- Assignment for the '70's*, by Fairbank, 861-79
- "Athenian Constitution after Sulla," by Geagan, 122
- Atherton, Lewis (R), 734
- Atkins, Richard. *See* Young, Peter
- Atlantic Ocean. *See* Cassidy, V. H.
- "Atomists (1805-1933)," by Schonland, 545
- "Augustine of Hippo: A Biography," by Brown, 126
- Aunola, Toini, "Pohjois-Pohjanmaan kauppiaiden ja talonpoikien väliset kauppa- ja luottosuhteet 1765-1809," 1017
- "'Ausländer' in Brandenburg-Preussen: Als leitende Beamte und Offiziere 1604-1871," by Opgenoorth, 1612
- Australia. *See* Buxton, G. L.
- "Australia, A History of," II, by Clark, 1693
- "Australian Ballot: The Story of an American Reform," by Fredman, 1369
- "Austria, The Jews of: Essays on Their Life, History and Destruction," ed. by Fraenkel, 1032
- "Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent," by Hepburn, 1281
- "Authorship in America, 1800-1870, The Profession of: The Papers of William Charvat," ed. by Brucoli, 1717
- Avakumovic, Ivan, and Woodcock, George, "The Doukhobors," 1753
- "Avenir, 1830-1831: Antologia degli articoli di Felicità-Robert Lamennais e degli altri collaboratori," ed. by Verucci, 628
- Avrich, Paul (R), 674, 1665
- "Awakening of the Greek Historical Spirit," by Starr, 554
- Babb, W. C. (deceased), 421
- Bacaris, C. A. (R), 769
- Backus, O. P., III (R), 1271
- "Bacon, Francis: From Magic to Science," by Rossi, tr. by Rabinovitch, 979
- Badgley, J. H. (R), 1335
- "Bacck, Leo, Institute, Studies of the," ed. by Kreutzberger, 1022
- Baer, G. W. (R), 1584
- "Bagehot, Walter, The Collected Works of," III and IV, ed. by St. John-Stevas, 1291
- Baggs, A. E. (R), 1064
- Bagü, Sergio, "El plan económico del grupo rivadaviano, 1811-1827," 343
- Bailey, H. C., "Edgar Gardner Murphy," 1738
- Bailey, T. A., "Democrats vs. Republicans," 706
- "Bailey, Senator Josiah William, of North Carolina: A Political Biography," by Moore, 1102
- Bailyn, Bernard, "The Origins of American Politics," 701
- Bainton, R. H. (R), 540, 574
- Baker, R. L. (R), 138, 142
- Balazs, Étienne, and Maspero, Henri, "Histoire et institutions de la Chine ancienne," ed. by Demiéville, 686
- Baldwin, J. W. (R), 1264
- Baldwin, M. W. (R), 562
- Baldwin, Sidney, "Poverty and Politics," 1113
- "Balkan Civilization, A Study in," by Stoianovich, 1037
- Ballinger-Pinchot affair. *See* Penick, James, Jr. Baltimore, Md. *See* Crooks, J. B.
- Bamm, Peter, "Alexander the Great," tr. by Brownjohn, 1594
- Banaszkiewicz, Jakub, "Powstanie Partii Hitlerowskiej," 1655
- Banerjee, Surendranath. *See* Argov, Daniel
- Bank of Montreal. *See* Denison, Merrill
- Bankwitz, P. C. F., "Maxime Weygand and Civil-Military Relations in Modern France," 189
- Barbour, Nevill (R), 1052
- Barbour, Violet (deceased), 1180
- "Barcelone: Centre économique à l'époque des difficultés, 1380-1462," by Carrère, 970
- "Barclay, Robert," by Trueblood, 165
- Barker, A. J., "The Civilizing Mission," 1584
- Barker, C. A. (R), 777
- Barker, N. N., "Distaff Diplomacy," 187
- Barker, T. M., "Double Eagle and Crescent," 208; (R), 652
- Barnes, H. E. (deceased), 1179
- Barnes, J. J. (R), 1281
- Barnes, T. G. (R), 160
- Barnouw, Erik, "The Golden Web," II, 1746
- Baron, Hans (R), 575
- Baron, S. H. (tr. and ed.), "The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia," 225; (R), 670
- Barros, James, "The Aland Islands Question," 1304
- "Barros Arana, Diego," by Donoso, 1397
- Bartlett, R. A. (R), 1727
- "Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary," by Hine, 715
- Başgöz, İlhan, and Wilson, H. E., "Educational Problems in Turkey, 1920-1940," 1054
- "Bashkiria, The Russian Conquest of, 1552-1740: A Case Study in Imperialism," by Donnelly, 1043
- Bass, Robert. *See* Masaryk, T. G.
- "Basse-Auvergne, La vie rurale en, au XVIII^e siècle (1726-1789)," I and II, by Poitrineau, 1296
- Bassett, T. D. S. (R), 1361
- Bastert, R. H. (R), 337
- Bates, M. L. (R), 948
- Bauer, Günther, "Anfänge Täuferischer Gemeindebildungen in Franken," 1307
- Baugh, D. A. (R), 594
- Baughman, J. J. (R), 187, 1640
- Baughman, J. P., "Charles Morgan and the Development of American Transportation," 1362; (R), 714
- Bausum, H. S. (R), 193; (C), 1484
- Baxter, S. B. (R), 637
- Baylen, J. O. (R), 332
- Bayley, C. C. (R), 568

- Bean, J. M. W., "The Decline of English Feudalism, 1215-1540," 967
- Beard, E. S. (R), 756
- Beard, J. F. (ed.), "The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper," V and VI, 1722
- Beattie, J. M. (R), 1284
- Beaufre, André, "1940," tr. by Flower, 633
- Beaver, R. P., *et al.*, "Reinterpretation in American Church History," ed. by Brauer, 1698
- "Bebel, August: Sein Leben in Dokumenten, Reden und Schriften," ed. by Hirsch, 1309
- Beck, W. A. (R), 721, 1122, 1347
- Becker, M. B. (R), 143, 147
- Becker, Seymour, "Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia," 1047
- Beckingsale, B. W., "Burghley," 158
- Beeler, John (R), 564
- Beer, B. L. (R), 979
- Besson, N. S. (ed. and tr.), "Henry E. Sigerist," 550
- Beisner, R. L., "Twelve against Empire," 1107; (R), 310
- "Bell, George, Bishop of Chichester," by Jasper, 1003
- "Bellèvre, Pomponne de: A Study of the King's Men in the Age of Henry IV," by Kierstead, 181
- Bellot, H. H. (deceased), 1764
- Bellush, Bernard, "He Walked Alone," 1381
- "Belmont, August: A Political Biography," by Katz, 1366
- Beloff, Max (R), 587
- Bengal. *See* Broomfield, J. H.
- "Bengal, West, and the Federalizing Process in India," by Franda, 1343
- Benison, Saul (ed.), "Tom Rivers," 324
- Bennett, A. A., "John Fryer," 688
- Bennett, E. L., Jr. (R), 117
- Bennett, N. R. (R), 246, 247
- Bennigsen, Marie. *See* Nekritsch, Alexandre
- Benson, R. L., "The Bishop-Elect," 1266
- "Bentham, Jeremy, The Correspondence of," I and II, ed. by Sprigge, 983
- Berengo, Marino, "L'agricoltura veneta dalla caduta della Repubblica all'unità," 1321
- Berindei, Dan, and Adăniloie, N., "Reforma Agrară din 1864," 664
- Berman, Ronald, "America in the Sixties," 775
- Bernard, P. P., "Joseph II," 1031; (R), 140
- Bernstein, B. J. (ed.), "Towards a New Past," 529; (R), 113, 1107
- Bernstein, M. D., "The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890-1950," 345
- Berthrong, D. J. (R), 298
- Berve, Helmut, "Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen," I and II, 118
- Berwanger, E. H., "The Frontier against Slavery," 1364
- Beshir, M. O., "The Southern Sudan," 1058
- "'Best Men': Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age," by Sproat, 1370
- Betts, R. F., "Europe Overseas," 972; (R), 239
- "Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872," by Montgomery, 300
- Bianco, Lucien, "Les origines de la révolution chinoise, 1915-1949," 1336
- Bibliography: "British History, Writings on, 1901-1933," I-III, 589; Miller (ed.), "A Bibliography of the Writings of Henry E. Sigerist," 550; Perman (ed.), "Bibliography and the Historian: The Conference at Belmont of the Joint Committee on Bibliographical Services to History, May 1967," 99
- Billias, G. A. (R), 270, 276
- Billington, M. L., "Thomas P. Gore," 750
- Bingham, E. R. (R), 1368
- Binion, Rudolph, "Frau Lou," 1311
- "Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters," by Nyberg, 572
- Birr, Kendall (R), 305
- "Birth of a Nation: A Portrait of the American People on the Eve of Independence," by Schlesinger, 1357
- Bishai, W. B., "Islamic History of the Middle East," 1332; (R), 680
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- Bitton, Davis (R), 624
- Bjork, K. O. (R), 727
- Black, C. E. (R), 1037
- Blackton, C. S. (R), 1344
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- "Blum, Léon: Chef de gouvernement, 1936-1937," 192

- "Blum, Léon, et le Parti socialiste, 1872-1934," by Ziebur, tr. by Duplex, 632
 Board of Trade. *See* Steele, I. K.
 Boba, Imre (R), 130
 Bock, R. L. (R), 1340
 Bodea, Cornelia, "Lupta Românilor pentru Unitatea Națională, 1834-1849," 664
 Bodman, H. L., Jr. (R), 1050
 Boegehold, A. L. (R), 122
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 Bonner, T. N. (R), 324
 "Bookbinding in Colonial Virginia," by Samford and Hemphill, 703
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 Bordes, Maurice, "La réforme municipale du Contrôleur général Laverdy et son application (1764-1771)," 1011
 Borrowman, M. L. (R), 1088
 Borton, Hugh (R), 1337
 Bossenbrook, W. J. *See* White, H. V.
 Bossy, John. *See* Evennett, H. O.
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 Bouwsma, W. J. (R), 578
 Bowen, Desmond, "The Idea of the Victorian Church," 611
 Bowen, R. H. (R), 629
 Bowersock, G. W. (R), 119, 959
 Bowker, Margaret, "The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520," 158
 "Bowles, William Augustus: Director General of the Creek Nation," by Wright, 707
 Bowman, J. N. (deceased), 856
 Bowra, C. M., "Memories, 1898-1939," 618
 Bowsky, W. M. (ed.), "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History," V, 1608; (R), 968
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 Boyce, G. C. (R), 139, 1062
 Boyd, C. E. (R), 963
 Boyer, C. B. (R), 536
 Boyer, P. S., "Purity in Print," 1378; (R), 329, 1717
 Brace, R. M. (R), 241, 1678
 Bradford, M. E. *See* Weaver, R. M.
 Bradley, H. W. (R), 745
 Bragdon, Chandler (deceased), 1483
 Bragdon, H. W., "Woodrow Wilson," 754; (R), 753
 "Brains Trust," by Tugwell, 1387
 Brand, C. E., "Roman Military Law," 1591
 Brand, C. M., "Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204," 136
 Brandenburg, D. J. (R), 1011
 Brass, P. R., *et al.*, "State Politics in India," ed. by Weiner, 1341
 Brauer, J. C. *See* Beaver, R. P.; Breen, Quirinus
 Braunsfels, Wolfgang, and Schnitzler, Hermann (eds.), "Karl der Grosse," III, 132; and Schramm, P. E. (eds.), "Karl der Grosse," IV, 132
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 Breisach, Ernst, "Caterina Sforza," 655
 Bremner, R. H. (R), 284; *see also* Aaron, Daniel
 Brentano, Robert, "Two Churches," 1266
 Brett-James, Antony (ed.), "Edward Costello," 598
 Brice, W. C. (ed.), "Europa," 1252
 Bridenbaugh, Carl, "Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642," 164
 Bridges, Hal (R), 1366
 Briggs, Asa (R), 607, 1746
 Bright, John. *See* Read, Donald
 Brinton, Crane, "The Americans and the French," 115; (R), 627; (deceased), 854
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 "Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914," by Graham, 1396
 "Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914," by Busch, 236
 "Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880," by Kelly, 989
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- Brose, O. J. (R), 547
- Broughton, T. R. S., lists of articles, 351-56, 790-94, 1133-37, 1403-1406; (R), 618, 1591
- Brower, D. R., "The New Jacobins," 1298
- Brown, D. M. (R), 260, 691
- Brown, F. J., "Chemical Warfare," 1583
- Brown, Harcourt (R), 1013
- Brown, I. V. (R), 304
- Brown, P. D., "The Chathamites," 984
- Brown, P. R. L., "Augustine of Hippo," 126
- Brown, R. E. (R), 1357, 1703
- Brown, R. H. (R), 711
- Brown, Seyom, "The Faces of Power," 772
- Brown, T. S. (R), 554, 956, 1593
- Brown, W. L. (R), 1354
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- Brownjohn, J. M. *See* Bamm, Peter
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- Bryant, K. L., Jr., "Alfalfa Bill Murray," 1386
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- Buenker, J. D. (R), 1745
- Buhite, R. D. (R), 1112
- Buisseret, David, "Sully and the Growth of Centralized Government in France, 1598-1610," 182
- Bukhara. *See* Becker, Seymour
- Buley, R. C., "The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, 1859-1964," 296
- Bullock, H. A., "A History of Negro Education in the South," 1075
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- Burns, E. M. (R), 716
- Burns, R. E. (R), 181
- Burns, R. I. (R), 635, 1603
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- Burroughs, Peter (R), 1693
- Burton, A. M. (R), 1628
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- Bush, J. W., "Venetia Redeemed," 583
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- Bushell, T. L., "The Sage of Salisbury," 166
- Bushnell, David, "Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor, 1938-1942," 1394
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- Cabaniss, Allen (tr.), "Charlemagne's Cousins," 133; (R), 555
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- California State Federation of Labor. *See* Taft, Philip
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- Cambridge University. *See* Rothblatt, Sheldon
- Cameron, Rondo (R), 100, 1638
- Cammatt, J. M. (R), 1320
- Campbell, Mildred (R), 591
- Campbell, T. F., "SASS," 316
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- "Canal, Zibaldone da: Manoscritto mercantile del sec. XIV," ed. by Stussi, 570
- Cantor, Milton (R), 319
- Cape Colony. *See* Duly, L. C.
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- "Carpetbag Governors, Three," by Current, 303
- Carr, W. H. A., "Perils," 714
- Carrère, Claude, "Barcelone," 970
- Carrigan, J. A. (R), 1085, 1731
- Carroll, B. A., "Design for Total War," 1026
- Carter, H. L. (R), 1098
- Cartwright, F. F., "The Development of Modern Surgery," 106
- Cary, F. C., "The Influence of War on Walter Lippmann, 1914-1944," 756
- Case, L. M. (R), 153
- "Cash, W. J.: Southern Prophet. A Biography and Reader," by Morrison, 758
- Cassels, Alan (R), 219
- Cassidy, V. H., "The Sea around Them," 567
- Casson, Lionel (R), 1590
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- Cavanaugh, G. J. (R), 1007, 1635; (C), 1771
- Cazaux, Yves, "Marie de Bourgogne," 145
- Cazel, F. A., Jr. (R), 135, 967
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- "Ceylon," by Pakeman, 264
- "Ceylon, The Modern History of," by Ludowyk, 264
- Chadwick, Henry, "The Early Church," 555
- Chadwin, M. L., "The Hawks of World War II," 1748
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- Chamberlin, E. K. (R), 1124, 1398
- Chambers, J. D. *See* Jones, E. L.
- Chaney, W. A. (R), 962
- Chapin, C. F., "The Religious Thought of Samuel Johnson," 1287
- Charanis, Peter (R), 136, 569
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- Charles, B. G. (ed.), "Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Haverfordwest, 1539-1660," 978
- Charvat, William. *See* Brucoli, M. J.
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- "Chemistry, The Origins of," by Multhauf, 105
- Cheney, C. R., "Hubert Walter," 1604
- Cheng, J. C. (R), 251
- Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. *See* Gray, R. D.
- Chesneaux, Jean, "The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927," tr. by Wright, 1686
- Chevallier, Maurice. *See* Valiani, Leo
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- Cheyette, F. L. (R), 1265
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- Child Labor Acts. *See* Wood, S. B.
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- Chubb, Thomas. *See* Bushell, T. L.
- Church, R. A., "Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town," 607
- Church, W. F. (R), 185, 626
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- Cincinnati, Ohio. *See* Miller, Z. L.
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- Clardy, J. V., "G. R. Derzhavin," 225
- Clark, C. M. H., "A History of Australia," II, 1693
- Clark, D. M. (R), 981
- Clark, John. *See* Braunthal, Julius
- Clark, T. D. (R), 758
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- Clarkson, J. D. (R), 223
- Clasen, C.-P. (R), 566
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- "Clavering, Sir James, The Correspondence of," ed. by Dickinson, 168
- Clebsch, W. A., "From Sacred to Profane America," 271
- "Cleveland, Grover," by Tugwell, 310
- Clifford, J. L. *See* Plumb, J. H.
- Cline, H. F. (R), 338
- Clive, John (R), 178
- Clough, S. B. (R), 217, 219
- Clubb, J. M., and Allen, H. W., *The Cities and the Election of 1928: Partisan Realignment?* 1205-20
- Coates, W. H. (R), 1621
- "Cobden and Bright: A Victorian Political Partnership," by Read, 609
- Coburgs of Belgium. *See* Aronson, Theo
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- Cochrane, Eric (R), 1034
- Coddington, E. B., "The Gettysburg Campaign," 1375
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- Cohen, J. A., "The Criminal Process in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1963," 689
- Coit, D. W. *See* Hammond, G. P.
- Colapietra, Raffaele (ed.), "La politica economica della restaurazione romana," 213
- Cole, A. B., *et al.*, "Socialist Parties in Post-war Japan," 258; (R), 1336

- Cole, Hubert, "Christophe, King of Haiti," 341
- Cole, W. S. (R), 1114
- Coleman, J. M. (R), 1713
- Coles, Paul, "The Ottoman Impact on Europe," 1278
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- "Collingwood, Vice-Admiral Lord, The Life and Letters of," by Warner, 1289
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- Colton, Joel (R), 192, 632
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- Comfort, R. A., "Revolutionary Hamburg," 205
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- "Communist Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church, 1943-1962," by Stroyen, 236
- "Comparative Approach to American History," ed. by Woodward, 1071
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- "Concerns of a Conservative Democrat," by Sawyer, 1743
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- Condillac, Abbé de. *See* Knight, I. F.
- Condit, C. W., "American Building," 1348
- Condliffe, J. B. (R), 696
- Condon, M. D. (R), 613
- Condon, T. J., "New York Beginnings," 1701
- Cone, C. B., "The English Jacobins," 1288; (R), 169
- Confer, Vincent (R), 247
- "Congo, Political Protest in the: The Parti Solidaire Africain during the Independence Struggle," by Weiss, 247

- "Congregational Commonwealth: Connecticut, 1636-1662," by Jones, 1702
- Coniglio, Giuseppe, "I vicerè spagnoli di Napoli," 657
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- Conn, Stetson (R), 699
- Connecticut. *See* Jones, M. J. A.
- Connolly, Owen, "The Gentle Bonaparte," 1012
- Connor, W. R., "Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens," 1593
- Conquest, Robert, "The Great Terror," 1670
- Conrad, D. E. (R), 1113
- Conroy, Hilary, lists of articles, 393-94, 827-28, 1162-63, 1437-39; (R), 258
- "Conscience of the State in North America," by Norman, 269
- "Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order," by Gleason, 1108
- "Conservative Regime: South Carolina, 1877-1890," by Cooper, 746
- Constable, Giles (ed.), "The Letters of Peter the Venerable," 136
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- Coonan, J. J., III (deceased), 1763
- Cooper, W. J., Jr., "The Conservative Regime," 746
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- Coox, A. D. (R), 189
- Corbino, Epicarmo, "Cinquant'anni di vita economica italiana, 1915-1965," ed. by As-sante and Demarco, 219
- Core, George. *See* Weaver, R. M.
- Cornell, J. B. (R), 256
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- "Costello, Edward: The Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns," ed. by Brett-James, 598
- Costeloe, M. P., "Church Wealth in Mexico," 340
- Costigan, Giovanni (R), 943
- "Costume, Occupational, in England: From the Eleventh Century to 1914," by Cunningham and Lucas, 975
- "Cotton, King, & His Retainers: Financing & Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925," by Woodman, 280
- Cotton Whigs. *See* O'Connor, T. H.
- Coulborn, Rushton (deceased), 421
- Coulter, E. M., "William Montague Browne," 722
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- "Court and Country 1688-1702," by Rubini, 600
- Cousins, P. M., "Joel Chandler Harris," 742
- Cowen, D. L. (R), 708
- Cowherd, R. G. (R), 169
- Cox, A. *See* Daniel-Rops, H.
- Cox, Archibald, "The Warren Court," 773
- Cox, LaWanda (R), 300
- "Cox, Boss: Cincinnati: Urban Politics in the Progressive Era," by Miller, 1380
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- Craig, G. M., "The United States and Canada," 777
- Crane, R. I. (R), 1067
- Crane, T. R. (R), 306, 1095
- "Crane, Winthrop Murray: A Study in Republican Leadership, 1892-1920," by Johnson, 313
- Cranz, F. E. (R), 543, 1608
- Craven, Avery (R), 1091
- Craven, W. F. (R), 701
- Crawford, R. A., "Andrew Law, American Psalmist," 1361
- Creer, L. H. (deceased), 421
- Cremin, L. A. (R), 281
- Creswell, John (R), 1289
- "Crete, A Land Called: A Symposium in Memory of Harriet Boyd Hawes, 1871-1945," 1590
- "Crime and Industrial Society in the 19th Century," by Tobias, 606
- "Criminal Process in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1963: An Introduction," by Cohen, 689

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 "Critical Historian," by Kitson Clark, 534
 "Critics of Society: Radical Thought in North America," by Bottomore, 777
 Crofts, J., "Packhorse, Waggon and Post," 591
 Croizier, R. C., "Traditional Medicine in Modern China," 687; (R), 1682
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 Cronon, E. D. (R), 754
 Crooks, J. B., "Politics & Progress," 1105
 Cross, R. D. (R), 1108
 Crowder, Michael, "West Africa under Colonial Rule," 1679
 Crowe, Charles, "George Ripley," 1087
 "Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821: The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege," by Farriss, 1123
 Crummey, R. O. (R), 667
 "Crusade for Freedom: Women of the Antislavery Movement," by Lutz, 719
 Cultural history: Ames, "Prince Albert and Victorian Taste," 610; Braunfels and Schramm (eds.), "Karl der Grosse," IV, 132; Den Steinen, "Menschen im Mittelalter," ed. by Moos, 131; "Individu et société à la Renaissance," 147; Lindsay, "Men and Gods on the Roman Nile," 1256; Singleton (ed.), "Art, Science, and History in the Renaissance," 1276. *See also* Political and administrative history (Great Britain); Religion
 Cumberland, C. C., "Mexico," 782; (R), 345
 Cunliffe, Marcus, "Soldiers & Civilians," 1360; (R), 1087, 1582
 Cunningham, H. H., "Field Medical Services at the Battles of Manassas (Bull Run)," 1731
 Cunningham, Phillis, and Lucas, Catherine, "Occupational Costume in England," 975
 Current, R. N., "Three Carpetbag Governors," 303; (R), 307
 Curry, George (R), 975
 Curry, L. P., "Blueprint for Modern America," 1734
 Curti, Merle (R), 275
 Curtin, P. D. (ed.), "Africa Remembered," 244; (R), 683
 Curtis, L. P., Jr., "Anglo-Saxons and Celts," 613
 Curtiss, J. S., *et al.*, "The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia," ed. by Vucinich, 670; (R), 236
 "Custer, General George Armstrong, The Court-Martial of," by Frost, 1097
 Cutter, D. C. (R), 713
 "Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1958," by Xydis, 667
 "Da San Nilo all'umanesimo," by Pepe, 963
 "Dafoc-Sifton Correspondence, 1919-1927," by Cook, 1755
 Dahm, Helmut, "Abschreckung oder Volkskrieg," 1250
 Dahmus, Joseph (R), 144, 565, 1266
 "Dahomey and Its Neighbours, 1708-1818," by Akinjogbin, 245
 Daicovicu, C., *et al.* (eds.), "Acta Musei Napocensis," IV, 220
 Dain, Norman (R), 944
 "Dale Abbey, The Cartulary of," ed. by Saltman, 138
 "Dalla memoria d'un vecchio giornalista dell'epoca del Risorgimento italiano," by Valussi, 215
 Dallek, Robert (R), 751
 Dallin, Alexander (R), 235, 1618
 Dalton, R. C. (R), 333
 Daly, Sister Cecilia (deceased), 1763
 "Dandurand, Sénateur Raoul, Les mémoires du, (1861-1942)," ed. by Hamelin, 335
 "D'Anethan Dispatches from Japan, 1894-1910: The Observations of Baron Albert d'Anethan, Belgian Minister Plenipotentiary and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps," tr. and ed. by Lensen, 254
 Daniel-Rops, H., "Our Brothers in Christ, 1870-1959," tr. by Orpen and Warrington, ed. by Cox and Hetherington, 547
 Daniels, G. H., "American Science in the Age of Jackson," 281
 Daniels, R. V. (R), 1673
 Dannenfeldt, K. H., "Leonhard Rauwolf," 1647
 Darby, H. C., and Finn, R. W. (eds.), "The Domesday Geography of South-West England," 563
 Darlington, Ida (ed.), "London Consistory Court Wills, 1492-1547," 157
 "Daun, Feldmarschall: Maria Theresias grösster Feldherr," by Thadden, 652
 "Davao: A Case Study in Japanese-Philippine Relations," by Goodman, 697
 Davidson, E. H., "Jonathan Edwards," 1351
 Davies, D. W., "Elizabethans Errant," 162
 Davis, C. T. (R), 1605
 Davis, Harold (deceased), 856
 Davis, R. H. C., and Cronne, H. A. (eds.), "Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154," III, 564
 Davis, R. W. (R), 992
 Davis, W. C. (R), 1126
 Davison, R. H. (R), 237, 667, 989
 Dawn, C. E. (R), 238, 1332
 Deak, Istvan (R), 1025
 Dearing, M. R. (R), 548
 "Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima," by Lifton, 1063
 "Death of an Army," by Farrar-Hockley, 1002
 "Decker, Peter, The Diaries of: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851," ed. by Giffen, 293
 "Declino e prima crisi dell'Europa di Versailles: Studio sulla diplomazia italiana ed europea (1931-1933)," by Amoja, 660
 "Décolonisation et régimes politiques en Afrique Noire," by Alexandre *et al.*, 239

- "Défi américain," by Servan-Schreiber, 630
 "Defiant Dynasty: The Coburgs of Belgium," by Aronson, 1644
 "De Gaulle's Foreign Policy, 1944-1946," by DePorte, 192
 De George, R. T., "Patterns of Soviet Thought," 1046
 Degler, C. N. (R), 742, 1101, 1735
 "Dekolonisation: Die Diskussion über Verwaltung und Zukunft der Kolonien 1919-1960," by Albertini, 111
 de Laix, R. A. (R), 121
 Delzell, C. F. (R), 216, 1324
 Demarco, D. *See* Corbino, Epicarmo
 Demiéville, Paul. *See* Maspero, Henri
 "Democratic Representation: Reapportionment in Law and Politics," by Dixon, 1750
 "Democratic Republic, 1801-1815," by Smelser, 1719
 "Democrats vs. Republicans: The Continuing Clash," by Bailey, 706
 Demography: "America colonial," 339; Hartmann, "Americans from Wales," 275; Izzo, "La popolazione calabrese nel secolo XIX," 658; Mitchell, "The Korean Minority in Japan," 256; O'Connor, "The German-Americans," 1367; Palfreman, "The Administration of the White Australia Policy," 265. *See also* Church history
 "Demosthenes, The Letters of," by Goldstein, 1593
 Denison, Merrill, "Canada's First Bank," 334
 den Steinen, Wolfram von, "Menschen im Mittelalter," ed. by Moos, 131
 De Pillis, M. S. (R), 731
 DePorte, A. W., "De Gaulle's Foreign Policy, 1944-1946," 192
 de Roover, Raymond, "The Bruges Money Market around 1400," 1273
 "Derzhavin, G. R.: A Political Biography," by Clardy, 225
 "Design for Total War: Arms and Economics in the Third Reich," by Carroll, 1026
 "Destiny His Choice: The Loyalty of Andrew Marvell," by Wallace, 165
 Detwiler, D. S. (R), 111
 Deutsch, H. C., "The Conspiracy against Hitler in the Twilight War," 1027
 "Deutsche Faschismus in Lateinamerika 1933-1943," 1128
 "Deutsche Standort," by Mehnert, 1316
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 "Deutschlands Rolle in der Vorgeschichte der beiden Weltkriege," by Hillgruber, 645
 "Deuxième Internationale et l'Orient," under the direction of Haupt and Reberieux, 110
 Dew, C. B. (R), 735
 Dexter, Byron, "The Years of Opportunity," 112
 Devon, Pierre, "Amiens, capitale provinciale," 625
Dial, The. See Joost, Nicholas
 "Diaries and Letters," II, by Harold Nicolson, ed. by Nigel Nicolson, 180
 Dickinson, H. T. (ed.), "The Correspondence of Sir James Claverling," 168
 Diégues Júnior, Manuel, and Wood, Bryce (eds.), "Social Science in Latin America," 338
 Dietrich, Richard (ed.), "Europa und der Norddeutsche Bund," 643
 Dietze, Gottfried, "America's Political Dilemma," 702
 "Digging for Gold—without a Shovel: The Letters of Daniel Wadsworth Coit from Mexico City to San Francisco, 1848-1851," ed. by Hammond, 1368
 Diggins, J. P. (R), 775
 Dillon, M. L. (R), 720
 Dinnerstein, Leonard, "The Leo Frank Case," 1111
 "Diplomat Looks Back," by Einstein, ed. by Gelfand, 751
 Discovery and exploration: Lawson, "A New Voyage to Carolina," ed. by Lefler, 1352; Sauer, "Northern Mists," 698; Sharp, "The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman," 1691; Tyler, "The Wilkes Expedition," 1727
 "Discovery of Abundance: Simon N. Patten and the Transformation of Social Theory," by Fox, 314
 "Disease in the Civil War: Natural Biological Warfare in 1861-1865," by Steiner, 1731
 "Disraeli, Democracy, and the Tory Party: Conservative Leadership and Organization after the Second Reform Bill," by Feuchtwanger, 1627
 "Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform," by Smith, 175
 "Distaff Diplomacy: The Empress Eugénie and the Foreign Policy of the Second Empire," by Barker, 187
 Dixon, Piers, "Double Diploma," 620
 Dixon, Pierson. *See* Dixon, Piers
 Dixon, R. G., Jr., "Democratic Representation," 1750
 "Documents diplomatiques français (1932-1939)," 1st ser., III, 191; 2d ser., IV, 1642
 Dodds, G. B. (R), 1723
 Dodson, Leonidas (R), 1352
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 Dominican Republic. *See* Logan, R. W.
 Domonkos, L. S., and Schneider, R. J. (eds.), "Studium Generale," 1601
 Donald, A. D. (R), 1730
 Donald, David (R), 531
 Donnelly, A. S., "The Russian Conquest of Bashkiria 1552-1740," 1043
 Donnelly, M. C., "The New England Meeting Houses of the Seventeenth Century," 1349
 Donoso, Ricardo, "Diego Barros Arana," 1397
 "Dopoguerra in Italia e l'avvento del fascismo (1918-1922)," I, by Vivarelli, 219
 Dorfman, Joseph (R), 314
 Dormon, J. H., Jr. (R), 1363

- Dorn, J. H., "Washington Gladden," 304
 Dorpalen, Andreas (R), 206, 649, 1023
 "Dorset Elizabethans: At Home and Abroad," by Lloyd, 979
 Dorsett, L. W., "The Pendergast Machine," 312
 Doster, J. F. (R), 1362
 "Double Diploma: The Life of Sir Pierson Dixon, Don and Diplomat," by Dixon, 620
 "Double Eagle and Crescent: Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and Its Historical Setting," by Barker, 208
 Douglass, E. P. (R), 278
 "Douglass College: A History," by Schmidt, 760
 "Doughobors," by Woodcock and Avakumovic, 1753
 Dowd, David (deceased), 1482
 Dowie, J. I., and Tredway, J. T. (eds.), "The Immigration of Ideas," 727
 Drachkovitch, M. M., *et al.*, "The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943," ed. by Drachkovitch, 950
 "Drafted or Deferred: Practices Past and Present," by Blum, 329
 Drechsler, Hanno, "Die Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SAPD)," 648
 "Dresdens, Geschichte, bis zur Reformationszeit," by Butte, ed. by Wolf, 566
 Drew, K. F. (R), 573
 Drimmer, Melvin (R), 1075
 Drinnon, Richard (R), 730
 Driscoll, G. R. (R), 979
 "Du Bois, W. E. B., The Autobiography of: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century," 315
 Duignan, Peter, and Gann, L. H., "Burden of Empire," 682; (R), 1333
 Dukes, Paul, "Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility," 669
 Dull, J. L. (R), 248
 Dulles, F. R., "The Civil Rights Commission," 774
 "Dulles, John Foster," by Gerson, 764
 Duly, L. C., "British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844," 987
 "Dumbarton Oaks Papers," No. 20, 557; No. 21, 558
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 Dunham, W. H., Jr. (R), 975
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 Eckert, Georg. *See* Lange, F. A.
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 Erwin, Robert (R), 102
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 Esper, Thomas. *See* Staden, Heinrich von
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 Febrerista party of Paraguay. *See* Lewis, P. H.
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 Ferrara, Ferruccio, "Francesco I e Ferdinando II," 214
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- Furber, Holden (R), 1626
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- Geyer, Dietrich (ed.), "Wissenschaft in kommunistischen Ländern," 1609
- Gibian, George. *See* Masaryk, T. G.
- Gibson, A. M. (R), 1073
- Gibson, Charles (R), 339, 785
- Giesey, R. E., "If Not, Not," 1603
- Giffard, Ann, and Greenhill, Basil, "West-countrymen in Prince Edward's Isle," 170
- Giffen, H. S. (ed.), "The Diaries of Peter Decker," 293
- Gifford, Prosser, and Louis, W. R. (eds.), "Britain and Germany in Africa," 948
- Gigon, Olof, "Die antike Kultur und das Christentum," 123
- Gilbert, Felix (R), 141, 656
- Gilbert, J. B., "Writers and Partisans," 749
- Gilbert, William (R), 1659
- Gilchrist, D. T. (ed.), "The Growth of the Seaport Cities, 1790-1825," 712
- Gilkey, G. R. (R), 945
- Gille, Bertrand, "La sidérurgie française au xix^e siècle," 1638
- Gilliam, J. F. (R), 957
- Gilmore, N. R. (R), 1395
- Gilpin, Robert, "France in the Age of the Scientific State," 630
- "Gladden, Washington: Prophet of the Social Gospel," by Dorn, 304
- "Glass Industry of the Weald," by Kenyon, 974
- Glazer, Sidney, lists of articles, 386-87, 821-22, 1157, 1431-32
- Glazier, I. A. (R), 1319, 1321, 1323
- Gleason, Philip, "The Conservative Reformers," 1108
- Goderich, vct. *See* Jones, W. D.
- Godfrey, J. L. (R), 1059
- "Godiva of Coventry," by Lancaster, 135
- Going, A. J. (R), 746
- Goitein, S. D., "A Mediterranean Society," I, 134
- Gokhale, B. G. (R), 259
- Goldberg, Carl. *See* Miliukov, Paul
- "Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States," II, by Barnouw, 1746
- Goldstein, J. A., "The Letters of Demosthenes," 1593
- Goldthwaite, R. A. (R), 211, 657
- Gooch, G. P. (deceased), 853
- Goodman, G. K., "Davao," 697; "The Dutch Impact on Japan (1640-1853)," 1062
- Goodman, Paul (R), 273
- Goodwin, C. D. W., and Holley, I. B., Jr. (eds.), "The Transfer of Ideas," 1243
- Gordon, H. J., Jr. (R), 1026
- "Gore, Thomas P.: The Blind Senator from Oklahoma," by Billington, 750
- Gorelik, Mordecai (R), 327
- "Gortyn, The Law Code of," ed. and tr. by Willetts, 120

- "Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856," by Stanton, 1349
- Gould, L. L., "Wyoming," 1098; (R), 1345
- "Gouvernement et l'administration centrale de l'empire byzantin sous les premiers Paléologues (1258-1354)," by Raybaud, 569
- Govan, T. P. (R), 280
- "Government in Science: The U. S. Geological Survey, 1867-1894," by Manning, 305
- Gowans, Alan (R), 1349
- Gracy, D. B., II, "Littlefield Lands," 753
- Graebner, N. A. (R), 1586
- Graham, G. S., "Great Britain in the Indian Ocean," 989
- Graham, H. D., "Crisis in Print," 331
- Graham, Richard, "Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914," 1396; (R), 1757
- Granatstein, J. L., "The Politics of Survival," 336
- "Grand Camouflage: The Spanish Civil War and Revolution, 1936-39," by Bolloten, 195
- Grant, A. R. C. (ed.), "Lord Rosebery's North American Journal—1873," 332
- Grant, Douglas, "The Fortunate Slave," 1333
- Grant, U. S., III (deceased), 853
- Grantham, D. W. (R), 1736
- Graubard, S. R. (R), 180, 585
- Graves, E. B. *See* Lunt, W. E.
- Gray, C. M. (R), 159
- Gray, R. D., "The National Waterway," 274
- Gray, Wood, lists of articles, 397-409, 830-38, 1166-72, 1442-48
- Grayson, Cecil. *See* Ridolfi, Roberto
- "Great Britain and the War of 1914-1918," by Woodward, 179
- "Great Britain in the Indian Ocean: A Study of Maritime Enterprise, 1810-1850," by Graham, 989
- "Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence," by Runciman, 1576
- "Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914," by Perkins, 1582
- "Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties," by Conquest, 1670
- "Greece, Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of, 1833-1843," by Petropoulos, 1039
- "Greece, A Short History of Modern," by Woodhouse, 1326
- "Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History," by Larsen, 1255
- Green, R. W. (R), 1294
- Greene, J. P. (R), 1359
- Greenhill, Basil, and Giffard, Ann, "West-countrymen in Prince Edward's Isle," 170
- Greer, T. H. (C), 1769
- Gregory, Roy, "The Miners and British Politics, 1906-1914," 1632
- "Gregory, John Milton, and the University of Illinois," by Kersey, 1095
- "Gregory the Great, The Earliest Life of, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby," tr. by Colgrave, 561
- Greschat, H.-J., "Kitawala," 246
- Gressley, G. M. (ed.), "The American West," 298; (ed.), "Bostonians and Bullion," 1104
- Grew, Raymond (R), 660
- Griffin, C. C. (R), 339
- Grimes, J. M. (deceased), 422
- Grimes, W. F., "The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London," 1258
- Grimm, H. J. (R), 210, 639, 1305, 1646
- Grimsley, Ronald, "Rousseau and the Religious Quest," 1634
- Grimsted, David, "Melodrama Unveiled," 1363
- "Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit: Wirtschaftsaufbau, Gesellschaft und Politik in Mitteleuropa," by Rosenberg, 203
- Grossman, Jonathan (R), 329
- Grover, B. L., "A Documentary Study of British Policy towards Indian Nationalism, 1885-1909," 176
- Gruder, V. R., "The Royal Provincial Intendants," 1008
- Grütter, Thomas, "Johannes von Müllers Begegnung mit England," 653
- Grumach, Ernst. *See* Brice, W. C.
- Guénot, Nicolas. *See* Hohl, Claude
- "Guicciardini, Francesco, The Life of," by Ridolfi, tr. by Grayson, 656
- Guillen, Pierre, "L'Allemagne et le Maroc de 1870 à 1905," 108
- "Guiteau, the Assassin, The Trial of: Psychiatry and Law in the Gilded Age," by Rosenberg, 1099
- Gutman, H. G. (R), 301
- Gwyn, John. *See* Tucker, Norman
- Haan, Heiner, "Der Regensburger Kurfürstentag von 1636/1637," 151
- Haas, A. G. (R), 1031
- Hacker, L. M., "The World of Andrew Carnegie," 743
- Hackett, R. F. (R), 253
- Hackney, Sheldon, *Southern Violence*, 906-25; (R), 1738
- Haenens, Albert D', "Les invasions normandes en Belgique au ix^e siècle," 1264
- "Haiti and the Dominican Republic," by Logan, 783
- Hale, C. A. (R), 340, 1126
- Halecki, O. (R), 103, 1660; (C), 426
- Haley, K. H. D., *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*, 1282
- Hall, C. R. (R), 1709
- Hall, D. D. (ed.), "The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638," 1077
- Hall, H. D. (R), 999
- Hall, J. W. (R), 252
- Hall, M. B. (R), 105
- Hall, T. E., *Thought and Practice of Enlightened Government in French Corsica*, 880-905; (R), 1008
- Halperin, S. W. (R), 205

- Hamalainen, P. K. (R), 1302
 "Hamburg, Revolutionary: Labor Politics in the Early Weimar Republic," by Comfort, 205
 Hamelin, Marcel (ed.), "Les mémoires du Sénateur Raoul Dandurand (1861-1942)," 335
 Hamer, P. M., *et al.* (eds.), "The Papers of Henry Laurens," I, 1707
 Hamerow, T. S. (R), 641
 Hamil, F. M. (deceased), 1482
 Hamill, H. M., Jr., "The Hidalgo Revolt," 1124
 Hamilton, Alastair. *See* Moscati, Sabatino
 Hamilton, Holman (R), 722
 "Hamilton, Alexander, The Papers of," XII and XIII, ed. by Syrett, 278
 "Hamilton, Colossal, of Texas: A Biography of Andrew Jackson Hamilton, Military Unionist and Reconstruction Governor," by Waller, 1729
 Hammond, Bray (deceased), 853
 Hammond, G. P. (ed.), "Digging for Gold—without a Shovel," 1368
 Hammond, Mason (R), 958, 960
 "Han Administration, Records of," I and II, by Loewe, 249
 "Han China, Trade and Expansion in: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations," by Yü, 248
 Hanawalt, L. L., "A Place of Light," 306
 Hancock, W. K., "Smuts," 1059
 Hand, S. B. (R), 1115
 Hanham, H. J. (R), 617, 1630
 Hannah, J. J. (deceased), 1482
 Hansen, K. J., "Quest for Empire," 731
 "Hara Kei in the Politics of Compromise, 1905-1915," by Najita, 255
 Harbaugh, W. H. (R), 1110
 Harcave, Sidney, "Years of the Golden Cockerel," 1663
 Hardacre, P. H. (R), 980
 Hardy, J. D., Jr., "Judicial Politics in the Old Regime," 185
 Hareven, T. K., "Eleanor Roosevelt," 761
 Harik, I. F., "Politics and Change in a Traditional Society," 679
 Harlan, L. R. (R), 285
 Harpaz, Éphraïm, "L'école libérale sous la Restauration," 1640
 Harrigan, W. M. (deceased), 1766
 Harris, G. S., "The Origins of Communism in Turkey," 237
 Harris, W. C., "Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi," 740
 "Harris, Joel Chandler: A Biography," by Cousins, 742
 Harrison, Brian (R), 1343
 Harrison, J. F. C. (R), 619
 Hartdagen, G. E. (R), 1700
 Hartje, Robert (R), 737, 1733
 Hartmann, E. G., "Americans from Wales," 275
 Hartunian, A. H., "Neither to Laugh nor to Weep," tr. by Vartan Hartunian, 1677
 "Harvard College, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended, in the Classes 1756-1760, with Bibliographical and Other Notes," by Shipton, 1079
 Hassler, W. W., Jr. (R), 1360, 1374
 Hastings, Margaret (R), 969
 Hatton, Ragnhild, and Bromley, J. S. (eds.), "William III and Louis XIV," 971
 Hauben, P. J. (C), 859
 Hauberg, C. A., "Latin American Revolutions (Mexico, Central America, Panama, and the Islands of the Caribbean)," 786
 Haupt, Georges, and Reberieux, Madeleine (under the direction), "La Deuxième Internationale et l'Orient," 110
 Hauser, Walter (R), 1341
 "Haverfordwest, Calendar of the Records of the Borough of, 1539-1660," ed. by Charles, 978
 Havinden, M. A. (ed.), "Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550-1590," 160
 "Hawaiian Kingdom," III, by Kuykendall, 745
 Hawes, H. B. *See* "Crete, A Land Called"
 "Hawks of World War II," by Chadwin, 1748
 Hay, Denys. *See* Piccolominus, A. S.
 Haynes, R. V. (R), 725
 Hays, E. R., "Those Extraordinary Blackwells," 286
 Hayter, E. W., "The Troubled Farmer, 1850-1900," 734
 Haywood, R. M. (R), 555
 "He Walked Alone: A Biography of John Gilbert Winant," by Bellush, 1381
 Head, J. M., "A Time to Rend," 1359
 "Health-Seekers in the Southwest, 1817-1900," by Jones, 1085
 "Heaven, Hell, & History: A Survey of Man's Faith in History from Antiquity to the Present," by Marcus, 942
 Hecht, M. B., and Parmet, H. S., "Never Again," 1388
 Heiber, Helmut, "Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands," 650
 Heilbron, J. L. (R), 545
 Heintz, R. D., Jr., "Victory at High Tide," 330
 Heinrichs, W. H., Jr. (R), 1118
 Helde, T. T. (R), 647
 "Hell or High Water: MacArthur's Landing at Inchon," by Sheldon, 773
 "Hellas—Wohin? Das Verhältnis von Militär und Politik in Griechenland seit 1900," by Manousakis, 1662
 Helm, P. J., "England under the Yorkists and Tudors, 1471-1603," 975
 Helmreich, E. C. (R), 154
 Hemphill, J. M., II, and Samford, C. C., "Bookbinding in Colonial Virginia," 703
 Henderson, Gregory, "Korea," 1064
 Hendrickson, J. E., "Joe Lane of Oregon," 1090
 Henningsen, Manfred, "Menschheit und Geschichte," 104

- "Henry VII: The First Tudor King," by Simons, 158
 "Henry VIII," by Scarisbrick, 592
 Hepburn, James, "The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent," 1281
 "Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms," by Wagner, 590
 Herberstein, Sigmund von. *See* Picard, Bertold
 "Herberts of Wilton," by Lever, 977
 "Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent c. 1250-c. 1450," by Leff, 140
 Herlihy, David (R), 131
 Hermann, C. F. (R), 941
 Hermes, W. G. (R), 330
 Hernon, J. M., Jr., "Celts, Catholics & Copperheads," 1092; (R), 623
 "Herodotus, Form and Thought in," by Immerwahr, 121
 Herr, Richard (R), 1016
 Hershkowitz, Leo (R), 1376
 Herskovits, Jean (R), 1680
 Hertzberg, Arthur, "The French Enlightenment and the Jews," 1009
 "Herzogstütel in Frankreich und Deutschland (9. bis 12. Jahrhundert). Mit Listen der ältesten deutschen Herzogsurkunden," by Kienast, 1265
 Herzstein, Robert (R), 1032
 Heslin, J. J. (R), 722
 Hess, A. C., *The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 1-25; (R), 1278
 Hess, J. W. (ed.), "Struggle in the Coal Fields," 759
 Hess, R. L. (R), 240
 Hetherington, J. *See* Daniel-Rops, H.
 Heymann, F. G. (R), 1029
 Hicks, J. D., "My Life with History," 1694
 "Hidalgo Revolt: Prelude to Mexican Independence," by Hamill, 1124
 Higginbotham, Don (R), 726
 Higgins, Trumbull (R), 588
 Higham, Robin (R), 1002, 1583
 Hilberg, Raul (R), 1024
 Hill, B. D., "English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century," 965
 Hill, Christopher, "Reformation to Industrial Revolution," I, 595
 Hillerbrand, H. J. (R), 639, 1306
 Hillgruber, Andreas, "Deutschlands Rolle in der Vorgeschichte der beiden Weltkriege," 645
 Hills, George, "Franco," 636
 Hilton, R. H., "A Medieval Society," 142
 Himmelfarb, Gertrude, "Victorian Minds," 608; (R), 1291
 Hine, R. V., "Bartlett's West," 715
 Hinton, H. P. (R), 297
 Hiroshima. *See* Lifton, R. J.
 Hirsch, E. F. (C), 860
 Hirsch, F. E. (R), 646, 1309
 Hirsch, Helmut (ed.), "August Bebel," 1309
 "Historian's Progress," by Nichols, 1695
 "Historical and Critical Essays," by Peyre, 544
 "Historical Letters," by Lavrov, tr. by Scanlan, 229
 "Historien français: Ferdinand Lot, 1866-1952," by Perrin, 1014
 Historiography: Aaron *et al.*, "Essays on History and Literature," ed. by Bremner, 101; Alger *et al.*, "Quantitative International Politics," ed. by Singer, 941; Bernstein (ed.), "Towards a New Past," 529; Bolshovitinov, *The Study of United States History in the Soviet Union*, tr. by Pundeff, 1221-42; Cochran, *Economic History, Old and New*, 1561-72; Connor, "Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens," 1593; Craig, *Johannes von Müller: The Historian in Search of a Hero*, 1487-1502; Donoso, "Diego Barros Arana," 1397; Elton, "The Practice of History," 534; Fairbank, *Assignment for the '70's*, 861-79; Feuerwerker (ed.), "History in Communist China," 1060; Goldstein, "The Letters of Demosthenes," 1593; Heiber, "Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschlands," 650; Henningsen, "Menschheit und Geschichte," 104; Hicks, "My Life with History," 1694; Immerwahr, "Form and Thought in Herodotus," 121; Lammers (ed.), "Entstehung und Verfassung des Sachsenstammes," 1598; Loewenberg, "Historical Writing in American Culture," I, 1072; Lot, Ferdinand, *Recueil des travaux historiques de*, I, 1014; Meinecke, "Zur Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung," ed. by Kessel, 1309; Nichols, "A Historian's Progress," 1695; Perrin, "Un historien français," 1014; Scott, "Religion and Philosophy in the Histories of Tacitus," 960; Ślaski, "Wątki Historyczne w Podaniach o Początkach Polski," 1038; Starr, "The Awakening of the Greek Historical Spirit," 554; Syme, "Ammianus and the Historia Augusta," 1596; Valiani, "L'historiographie de l'Italie contemporaine," tr. by Chevallier, 1324; Woodward (ed.), "The Comparative Approach to American History," 1071. *See also* Nazism and Nazi Germany; Religion
 Hitchins, Keith (R), 661, 662
 "Hitler, Adolf: His Family, Childhood and Youth," by Smith, 202
 "Hitler, The Conspiracy against, in the Twilight War," by Deutsch, 1027
 Hitsman, J. M., "Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871," 1391
 Hixson, R. F., "Isaac Collins," 1361
 Ho, Ping-ti, and Tsou, Tang (eds.), "China in Crisis," I, 1683
 Hobbs, Cecil, lists of articles, 394-96, 828-29, 1163-65, 1439-41; (R), 1690
 Höhne, Heinz, "Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf," 1656
 Hoensch, J. K., "Der ungarische Revisionismus und die Zerschlagung der Tschechoslowakei," 665

- Hoffman, R. J. S. (R), 604
 Hoffmann, F. L. (R), 343
 Hoffmann, Stanley (R), 1298
 Hogeboom, Willard (R), 624
 Hohl, Claude, "Un agent du Comité de Sûreté Générale," 1637
 Holborn, Hajo (R), 650
 "Holland, John P., 1841-1914: Inventor of the Modern Submarine," by Morris, 309
 Holley, I. B., Jr., and Goodwin, C. D. W. (eds.), "The Transfer of Ideas," 1243
 Hollingsworth, H. M. *See* Vandiver, F. E.
 Hollister, C. W. (R), 563
 Hollon, W. E. (R), 715
 Hollyday, F. B. M. (R), 152, 645
 Holm, B. J., lists of articles, 356-60, 795-98, 1138-39, 1406-1409
 Holmes, Geoffrey, "British Politics in the Age of Anne," 1625
 Holmes, W. F. *See* Vandiver, F. E.
 Holt, W. S. (R), 1695
 Holtman, R. B., "The Napoleonic Revolution," 627
 Hope, A. G., "America and Swaraj," 1586
 "Hopton, Sir Ralph: The King's Man in the West (1642-1652). A Study in Character and Command," by Edgar, 1283
 Horn, E. (deceased), 422
 Horitz, Henry, "Revolution Politicks," 599; (R), 1282
 Hoskins, J. W. (R), 1257
 "Hostile Skies: A Combat History of the American Air Service in World War I," by Hudson, 757
 "House on College Avenue: The Comptons at Wooster, 1891-1913," by Blackwood, 1103
 "Houston, The Port of: A History," by Sibley, 727
 Howard, H. N. (R), 262, 549
 Howe, G. F. (R), 99
 Howell, Roger, "Sir Philip Sidney," 1624
 Howells, B. E. (ed.), "A Calendar of Letters Relating to North Wales, 1533-*circa* 1700," 978
 "Howells, William Dean, The Achievement of: A Reinterpretation," by Vanderbilt, 1379
 Howes, R. C. (tr. and ed.), "The Testaments of the Grand Princes of Moscow," 223
 Hoyt, R. S. (R), 561
 "Hubert Walter," by Cheney, 1604
 "Hubert Walter, Lord of Canterbury and Lord of England," by Young, 1604
 Huddleston, L. E., "Origins of the American Indians," 267
 Hudson, J. J., "Hostile Skies," 757
 Hughes, J. J. *See* Lannie, V. P.
 Hughes, J. R. T. (R), 156
 Hughes, L. R. (R), 1129
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von. *See* Muhlack, Ulrich
 "Hummingbird and the Hawk: Conquest and Sovereignty in the Valley of Mexico, 1503-1541," by Padden, 339
 Humphreys, S. E. (deceased), 422
 Hunsberger, W. S. (R), 994
 Hunt, R. N. (R), 1309
 Hunter, C. H. (R), 292
 Hurd, Douglas, "The Arrow War," 1581
 Hurwitz, S. J. (R), 615, 1000, 1632
 Hutchinson, C. A. (R), 1123
 Hutchinson, W. T., and Rachal, W. M. E. (eds.), "The Papers of James Madison," IV, 709
 Huthmacher, J. J., "Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism," 1744; (R), 312, 323
 Hyde, F. E., and Marriner, Sheila, "The Senior," 994
 Hyman, H. M. (R), 303
 Hynes, Samuel, "The Edwardian Turn of Mind," 997
 Hyslop, B. F., lists of articles, 367-68, 804-806, 1143-44, 1416-17
 Iakovlev, N. N., "Franklin Ruzvel't—Chelovek i Politik," 325
 "Ibadan, The City of," ed. by Lloyd *et al.*, 1056
 Ibn Taghri Birdi. *See* Popper, William
If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930, by Warner, 26-43
 "If Not, Not: The Oath of the Aragonese and the Legendary Laws of Sobrarbe," by Giesey, 1603
 Iggers, G. G., "The German Conception of History," 1019
 Ike, Nobutaka (R), 255
 Illinois, University of. *See* Kersey, H. A., Jr.
 "Illinois History, Essays in, in Honor of Glenn Huron Seymour," ed. by Tingley, 1086
 "Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-41," by Fermi, 763
 Imlah, A. H. (R), 990
 Immerwahr, H. R., "Form and Thought in Herodotus," 121
 "Immigration of Ideas: Studies in the North Atlantic Community. Essays Presented to O. Fritiof Ander," ed. by Dowie and Tredway, 727
 "Impact of American Constitutionalism Abroad," by Friedrich, 545
 "Impact of the Church upon Its Culture: Reappraisals of the History of Christianity," by Breen *et al.*, ed. by Brauer, 540
 "Imperial Frontier in the Tropics, 1865-75: A Study of British Colonial Policy in West Africa, Malaya and the South Pacific in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli," by McIntyre, 616
 "Imperial Order," by Wesson, 102
 "India, Constitutional History of, 1600-1950," by Pylee, 1067
 "India, State Politics in," by Brass *et al.*, ed. by Weiner, 1341
 "Indian Federalism, The Foundations of," by Bombwall, 1067

- "Indian Life on the Upper Missouri," by Ewers, 1074
- "Indian Nationalism, A Documentary Study of British Policy towards, 1885-1909," by Grover, 176
- "Indian Nationalism, The Emergence of: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century," by Seal, 1065
- "Indian Nationalist Movement, Moderates and Extremists in the, 1883-1920: With Special Reference to Surendranath Banerjea and Lajpat Rai," by Argov, 1339
- Indians: Blish, "A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux," 311; Ewers, "Indian Life on the Upper Missouri," 1074; Huddleston, "Origins of the American Indians," 267; Josephy, "Indian Heritage of America," 1696; Kelly, "The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900-1935," 748; Mahon, "History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," 726; Meyer, "History of the Santee Sioux," 299; Nye, "Plains Indian Raiders," 1377; Stands In Timber and Liberty, "Cheyenne Memories," 1073; Wright, "William Augustus Bowles," 707
- "Indien und die Sowjetunion," by Rothermund, 1588
- "Individu et société à la Renaissance. Colloque international tenu en avril 1965 sous les auspices de la Fédération Internationale des Instituts et Sociétés pour l'Étude de la Renaissance et du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et de la Culture de Belgique," 147
- "Industrial Education: American Ideals and Institutions," by Fisher, 281
- "Industry before the Industrial Revolution: Incorporating a Study of the Chartered Companies of the Society of Mines Royal and of Mineral and Battery Works," by Rees, 1280
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 "Diego Portales," 1759
 Kirby, Chester (R), 168
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 Suewen bis zur Errichtung der westgoti-
 schen katholischen Staatskirche," by Schä-
 ferdieck, 556
 Kirchner, Walther (R), 224
 Kirkendall, R. S. (R), 1387
 Kisch, Guido, "Melanchthons Rechts- und
 Soziallehre," 201
 Kisch, Herbert, "Prussian Mercantilism and the
 Rise of the Krefeld Silk Industry," 1648
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 Society," 607; "The Critical Historian," 534;
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 Kittell, A. H. (R), 197, 539
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 päällystö 1500-luvun loppupuolella (N.V.
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 Klaus, Erwin (deceased), 856
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 Senegal," 1055; (R), 1333
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 c. 1050-1310," by Riley-Smith, 562
 Knoll, P. W. (R), 1038
 Knowles, M. D. (R), 965
 Knox, R. B., "James Ussher, Archbishop of
 Armagh," 181
 Koch, Adrienne (R), 1710
 Koenig, Duane (R), 214, 215, 1319
 Kolehmainen, J. I. (R), 1017
 Kolinski, C. J. (R), 634
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 1910," by Kim and Kim, 258
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 330; Sheldon, "Hell or High Water," 773
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 1922)," 1034
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 Soviet Union, 1940-1941," 1617
 Krueger, H. C. (R), 570, 1610
 Krueger, T. A. (R), 1102
 Kublin, Hyman (R), 258
 Kühnl, Reinhard, "Die nationalsozialistische
 Linke, 1925-1930," 648
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 Russland,'" 1615
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 Internatsionala," II, 109
 Lach, D. F. (R), 145
 Lacher, H. J. *See* Jones, G. F.
 LaFeber, Walter, "America, Russia, and the
 Cold War, 1945-1966," 113; (R), 772
 La Forte, R. S. (R), 1738
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 Crisis, 1967," 1677
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 Lamennais, F.-R. *See* Verucci, Guido
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 Verfassung des Sachsenstammes," 1598

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 Louisiana. *See* McConnell, R. C.
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- Riley-Smith, Jonathan, "The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310," 562
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- Ritcheson, C. R. (R), 984
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- Robbins, Caroline (R), 166, 986, 1625
- Robbins, William, "The Newman Brothers," 993
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- Roberts, David (R), 609
- Roberts, H. L. (R), 1041
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- "Rodgers, Rear Admiral John, 1812-1882," by Johnson, 282
- Rodríguez, Mario (R), 784
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- Roelker, N. L. (R), 182
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- "Rogers, John: Tudor Military Engineer," by Shelby, 594
- Rogger, Hans (R), 225
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- Rosenberg, Nathan (R), 601
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- Rosenthal, Joeli (R), 570
- Roske, R. J., "Everyman's Eden," 1347
- Ross, C. A. (R), 1397
- Ross, N. P. *See* Breen, Quirinus
- Ross, S. R. (R), 782
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- Rossi, Paolo, "Francis Bacon," tr. by Rabinovitch, 979
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- Rudolph, L. I., and Rudolph, S. H., "The Modernity of Tradition," 260
- Rudolph, R. C. (R), 249
- Rudy, Willis (R), 1103
- Ruhm von Oppen, Beate (R), 207
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- Rundell, Walter, Jr. (R), 266
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- Sankin kōtai system. *See* Tsukahira, T. G.
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- Sauer, Wolfgang (C), 424
- Saumagne, Charles, "La Numidie et Rome," 555
- Saunders, R. M. (R), 939
- Savelle, Max (R), 704
- Saville, Allison (R), 1653
- Sawyer, Charles, "Concerns of a Conservative Democrat," 1743
- Sayles, G. O., and Richardson, H. G., "Law and Legislation," 561
- Sayre, R. F. (R), 1379
- Saywell, J. T. (R), 1755
- Scanlan, J. P. *See* Lavrov, Peter
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- Schapiro, Leonard, "Rationalism and Nationalism in Russian Nineteenth-Century Political Thought," 226
- Schelbert, Leo (R), 109
- Scherer, P. H. (R), 191
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- Schmidt, G. P., "Douglass College," 760
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 Schulte, H. F., "The Spanish Press, 1470-1966," 634
 Schwarz, S. M., "Sotsial'noe Strakhovanie v Rossii v 1917-1919 Godakh," 1670
 Schweitzer, Arthur (C), 424
 Schwoebel, Robert, "The Shadow of the Crescent," 578
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 Scobie, J. R. (R), 342
 "Scotland: 1689 to the Present," by Ferguson, 1285
 Scott, F. D. (R), 287
 Scott, R. T., "Religion and Philosophy in the Histories of Tacitus," 960
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 Seal, Anil, "The Emergence of Indian Nationalism," 1065
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 Seidler, G. L., "The Emergence of the Eastern World," 1243
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 Selby, John, "The Paper Dragon," 1581; "Stonewall Jackson as Military Commander," 739; (ed.), "Thomas Morris," 598
 Selig, Wolfram, "Paul Nikolaus Cossmann und die Süddeutschen Monatshefte von 1914-1918," 204
 Sella, Domenico (R), 1280
 Sellers, Charles (R), 289
 "Seminole War, History of the Second, 1835-1842," by Mahon, 726
 Semmel, Bernard (R), 1631
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 Serfaty, Simon, "France, De Gaulle, and Europe," 1621
 Servan-Schreiber, J.-J., "The American Challenge," tr. by Steel, 630; "Le défi américain," 630
 Seton-Watson, Christopher, "Italy from Liberalism to Fascism," 216
 Seven Years' War. *See* Kaplan, H. H.
 Seward, W. H. *See* Lannie, V. P.
 "Seward, William Henry," by Van Deusen, 718
 Sewell, R. H. (R), 1734
 Seymour, G. F. *See* Tingley, D. F.
 "Sforza, Caterina: A Renaissance Virago," by Breisach, 655
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 Shafer, B. C. (R), 972
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 Shanahan, W. O. (R), 155
 Shapiro, Samuel (R), 1394
 Sharkey, R. P. (R), 1093
 Sharlin, H. I. (R), 992
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 Sheehan, J. J., *Political Leadership in the German Reichstag, 1871-1918*, 511-28
 Shelby, L. R., "John Rogers," 594

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 Shennan, J. H., "The Parlement of Paris," 1006
 Shenton, J. P. (R), 1090
 Shepperd, G. A., "The Italian Campaign, 1943-45," 1587
 Sherley, Sir Thomas. *See* Davies, D. W.
 Sherwani, H. K., "Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh," 1688
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 Shineberg, Dorothy, "They Came for Sandalwood," 696
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 Shy, John (R), 987
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 Sibley's Harvard Graduates. *See* Shipton, C. K.
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- Tierney, Brian (R), 126
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 "Upper House in Revolutionary America, 1763-1788," by Main, 273
 Urban history: Butte, "Geschichte Dresdens bis zur Reformationszeit," ed. by Wolf, 566; Charles (ed.), "Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Haverfordwest, 1539-1660," 978; Chinnery (ed.), "Records of the Borough of Leicester," VI, 167; Church, "Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town," 607; Crooks, "Politics & Progress," 1105; Deyon, "Amiens, capitale provinciale," 625; Dykstra, "The Cattle Towns," 1095; Dyos (ed.), "The Study of Urban History: The Proceedings of an International Round-Table Conference of the Urban History Group at Gilbert Murray Hall, University of Leicester, on 23-26 September 1966," 1247; Fogelson, "The Fragmented Metropolis," 294; James, "Antebellum Natchez," 1354; Lloyd *et al.* (eds.), "The City of Ibadan," 1056; McKelvey, "The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966," 1382; Marshall, "Dr. Johnson's London," 1286; Miller, "Boss Cox's Cincinnati," 1380; Pariset (under the direction), "Bordeaux au XVIII^e siècle," 1295; Sibley, "The Port of Houston," 727; Snyder, "Oswego," 1083; Tager, "The Intellectual as Urban Reformer," 1105; Thierfelder (ed.), "Das älteste Rostocker Stadtbuch (etwa 1254-1273)," 568; Thompson, "Socialists, Liberals and Labour," 177; Toynbee *et al.*, "Cities of Destiny," ed. by Toynbee, 538; Warner, *If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1784-1930*, 26-43; *id.*, "The Private City," 1082. *See also* Maritime history
 Urlsperger, Samuel. *See* Jones, G. F.
 "Uses of History: Essays in Intellectual and Social History Presented to William J. Bossenbrook," ed. by White, 939
 "Ussher, James, Archbishop of Armagh," by Knox, 181
 Utley, R. M. (R), 1377
 Valentinov, Nikolay, "Encounters with Lenin," tr. by Rosta and Pearce, 1668
 Valiani, Leo, "L'istoriographie de l'Italie contemporaine," tr. by Chevallier, 1324
 Valussi, Pacifico, "Dalla memoria d'un vecchio giornalista dell'epoca del Risorgimento italiano," 215
 Vanderbilt, Kermit, "The Achievement of William Dean Howells," 1379
 van der Veur, P. W., "Search for New Guinea's Boundaries," 1335
 Van Deusen, G. G., "William Henry Seward," 718
 Van Diemen's Land. *See* Clark, C. M. H.
 Vandiver, F. E., *et al.*, "Essays on the American Civil War," ed. by Holmes and Holingsworth, 737
 Van Dusen, A. E. (R), 1702
 "Vanhan Suomen suomalaisuusliike," II, by Teperi, 1017
 Vann, R. T. (R), 534
 Van Voris, Jacqueline, "Constance de Markievicz in the Cause of Ireland," 624
 Varnhagen von Ense, K. A. *See* Wiegand, Günther
 Varsos, I. A., "Purros en Italia," 1595
 "Vasas, The Early: A History of Sweden, 1523-1611," by Roberts, 638
 Vatikiotis, P. J., "Politics and the Military in Jordan," 238
 Vaughan, A. T. (R), 1353
 Vaughan, Richard (R), 133
 "Veblen, Thorstein: The Carleton College Veblen Seminar Essays," ed. by Qualey, 1371
 "Velikoi Oktjabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi Revoliutsii, Istoriia," ed. by Sobolev *et al.*, 1048
 Vella, W. F. (R), 1070
 "Venetia Redeemed: Franco-Italian Relations, 1864-1866," by Bush, 583
 "Venezia, Nunziature di," V and VI, ed. by Gaeta, 211
 Venice. *See* Cracco, Giorgio
 "Verdrängung der Juden aus der Wirtschaft im Dritten Reich," by Genschel, 206
 Vermeule, Emily (R), 1252
 Vernekohl, Wilhelm (ed.), "Heinrich Brüning," 649
 Verucci, Guido (ed.), "L'Avenir, 1830-1831," 628
 "Verwaltung des Hauptamtes Brandenburg-Ostpreussen von 1713 bis 1751," by Juhr, 1018
 "Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642," by Bridenbaugh, 164
 "Victorian Britain, Ideas and Institutions of: Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark," ed. by Robson, 173
 "Victorian Church, The Idea of the: A Study of the Church of England, 1833-1889," by Bowen, 611
 "Victorian Minds," by Himmelfarb, 608
 "Victory at High Tide: The Inchon-Seoul Campaign," by Heintz, 330
 Vienna, siege of. *See* Barker, T. M.
 "Vietnam, Government and Revolution in," by Duncanson, 1343
 Vigezzi, Brunello, "L'Italia di fronte alla prima guerra mondiale," I, 218
 "Vikings, A History of the," by Jones, 1263
 Viles, Perry (R), 184
 Vinson, J. C. (R), 1747
 Virginia: Pulley, "Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930," 1736; Reese (ed.), "Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia," IV, 277; Wilkinson, "Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966," 1736. *See also* Samford, C. C.
 Vivarelli, Roberto, "Il dopoguerra in Italia e l'avvento del fascismo (1918-1922)," I, 219

- "Vives, Luis, Vigencia actual de," by Sanz, 635
 "Vizantii, Istoriia," ed. by Skazkin *et al.*, 1599
 Voegeli, V. J., "Free But Not Equal," 738
 Vogland, Carolyn (deceased), 1180
 von Klemperer, Klemens (R), 651; (C), 427
 Von Laue, T. H. (R), 234
 von Lutichau, Charles (R), 676
 Vovchik, A. F., "Politika Tsarizma po Ra-bochemu Voprosu v Predrevoliutsionnyi Period (1895-1904)," 1667
 Vrooman family. *See* Paulson, R. E.
 Vryonis, Speros, Jr. (R), 557
 "Vtorogo Internatsionala, Istoriia," II, ed. by Zubok *et al.*, 109
 Vucinich, W. S. *See* Curtiss, J. S.
- Wacker, P. O., "The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey," 1699
 Wade, Mason (R), 336
 "Wages in Practice and Theory: McCormick and International Harvester, 1860-1960," by Ozanne, 736
 Wagner, Anthony, "Heralds of England," 590
 "Wagner, Senator Robert F., and the Rise of Urban Liberalism," by Huthmacher, 1744
 Waite, P. B. (R), 1392
 Wala. *See* Cabaniss, Allen
 Walcott, Robert (R), 600
 Walden, Daniel (ed.), "American Reform," 284
 "Wales, North, A Calendar of Letters Relating to, 1533-circa 1700; From the Llanfair-Brynodol, Gloddaeth, Crosse of Shaw Hill and Rhual Collections in the National Library of Wales," ed. by Howells, 978
 Walker, Mack (R), 1018
 Walker, P. F. (R), 1375
 Wall, B. H. (R), 1741
 Wallace, D. H., "John Rogers, the People's Sculptor," 308
 Wallace, J. M., "Destiny His Choice," 165
 Wallace, Michael, *Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815-1828*, 453-91
 Wallach, Luitpold (R), 132
 Waller, J. L., "Colossal Hamilton of Texas," 1729
 Walton, R. C., "Zwingli's Theocracy," 210
 Wanderer. *See* Wells, T. H.
 Wandycz, P. S. (R), 1642
 Wang, Y. C. (R), 1686
 Ward, J. W. (R), 1722
 Ward, P. L., report of the executive secretary for 1968, 1459-60; (R), 534
 Ward, R. E. *See* Burks, A. W.
 Warner, C. K. (R), 576
 Warner, Oliver, "The Life and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood," 1289
 Warner, S. B., Jr., *If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930*, 26-43; "The Private City," 1082; (R), 294
- Warren, J. Q. A. *See* Gates, P. W.
 Warren, Sidney, "The Battle for the Presidency," 1084
 "Warren, The Doctors, of Boston: First Family of Surgery," by Truax, 1709
 "Warren, Earl: A Political Biography," by Katcher, 766
 "Warren Court: Constitutional Decision as an Instrument of Reform," by Cox, 773
 Warren-Gerry correspondence. *See* Gardiner, C. H.
 Warrington, John. *See* Daniel-Rops, H.
 "Wars of America," by Leckie, 699
 Washburn, W. E. (R), 698
 "Washington, George, in the American Revolution (1775-1783)," by Flexner, 276
 Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. *See* Greschat, H.-J.
 Waterfield, Gordon, "Layard of Nineveh," 615
 Waters, D. W., "The Rutters of the Sea," 148
 Waters, J. J., Jr., "The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts," 1703
 "Wątki Historyczne w Podaniach o Początkach Polski," by Ślaski, 1038
 Watson, Alan, "The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic," 957
 Watt, D. C., and Bourne, K. (eds.), "Studies in International History," 546
 Wayne State University. *See* Hanawalt, L. L.
 "Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance," by Erikson, 1700
 Weald. *See* Kenyon, G. H.
 Weaver, R. M., "The Southern Tradition at Bay," ed. by Core and Bradford, 1735
 Webb, R. A. (R), 1754
 Webb, R. K., report of the managing editor for 1968, 1460-62; (R), 173
 "Webb, Beatrice: A Life, 1858-1943," by Muggeridge and Adam, 1631
 Weber, Wolfhard, "Erdölhandel und Erdölverarbeitung an der Unterweiser, 1860-1895," 1648
 Weddle, R. S., "San Juan Bautista," 1122
 Wedovoy, Enrique, "La evolución económica rioplatense a fines del siglo XVIII y principios del siglo XIX a la luz de la historia del seguro," 1759
 Weeks, A. L., "The First Bolshevik," 673
 "Weimarer Republik, Koalition und Opposition in der, 1924-1928," by Stürmer, 646
 Weinberg, G. L. (R), 1027
 Weiner, D. B., "Raspail," 1013
 Weiner, Myron (R), 1339; *see also* Brass, P. R.
 Weinstein, Allen (R), 1725
 Weinstein, Donald (R), 655
 Weisbord, R. G., "African Zion," 1057
 Weiss, H. F., "Political Protest in the Congo," 247
 Weiss, N. J., "Charles Francis Murphy, 1858-1924," 1384
 "Weizmann, Chaim, The Letters and Papers of," ser. A, I, ed. by Stein, 1675

- Weller, J. A., "The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad," 1761
 Welles, C. B. (R), 116
 Wellington, J. H., "South West Africa and Its Human Issues," 1333
 Wells, S. F., Jr. (R), 172
 Wells, T. H., "The Slave Ship *Wanderer*," 735
 Weltsch, R. E., "Archbishop John of Jenstein (1348-1400)," 1272
 Wendel, Thomas (R), 1361
 Werner, K. F., "Das NS-Geschichtsbild und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft," 206
 Wesson, R. G., "The Imperial Order," 102
 "West Africa, Politics in," by Lewis, 684
 "West Africa under Colonial Rule," by Crowder, 1679
 "Westcountrymen in Prince Edward's Isle: A Fragment of the Great Migration," by Greenhill and Giffard, 170
 "Western Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China: A Selective Survey of Jardine, Matheson and Company's Operations, 1842-1895," by Le Fevour, 1685
 Western Pacific High Commission. *See* Scarr, Deryck
 Weybright, Victor, "The Making of a Publisher," 329
 "Weygand, Maxime, and Civil-Military Relations in Modern France," by Bankwitz, 189
 Wheeler, K. W. (ed.), "For the Union," 1373
 "Whig Party and the French Revolution," by O'Gorman, 986
 "Whigs in Opposition, 1815-1830," by Mitchell, 171
 "While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy," by Morse, 328
 White, D. A. (R), 1598
 White, G. E., "The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience," 1100
 White, H. V. (ed.), "The Uses of History," 939; (R), 1243
 "White Australia Policy, The Administration of the," by Palfreman, 265
 "White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812," by Jordan, 268
 Whiteside, A. G. (R), 1654
 Whitlock, Brand. *See* Tager, Jack
 Wiebe, Robert (R), 318
 Wiedner, D. L. (R), 1055
 Wiegand, Günther, "Zum deutschen Russlandinteresse im 19. Jahrhundert," 152
 Wieser, Klemens (ed.), "Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Einzeldarstellungen," 1645
 Wightman, David (R), 1689
 Wilburn, J. A. (C), 423
 Wildman, A. K., "The Making of a Workers' Revolution," 1666
 Wilkes, J. W. (R), 605
 "Wilkes Expedition: The First United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842)," by Tyler, 1727
 Wilkins, J. F. *See* McDermott, J. F.
 Wilkinson, B. (R), 1261
 Wilkinson, J. H., III, "Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966," 1736
 Will, Édouard, "Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)," II, 956
 Willcox, W. B. (R), 1356
 Willetts, R. F. (ed. and tr.), "The Law Code of Gortyn," 120
 "William III and Louis XIV: Essays 1680-1720 by and for Mark A. Thomson," ed. by Hatton and Bromley, 971
 Williams, Glendwr, "The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century," 152
 Williams, I. J. (deceased), 1483
 Williams, L. P., "Michael Faraday, A Biography," 992
 Williams, Neville, "Elizabeth the First, Queen of England," 596
 Williams, R. L., "Henri Rochefort," 1641
 Williams, T. H. (R), 739
 Williams, W. O. (R), 978
 Willkie, W. L. *See* Moscow, Warren
 Wilson, C. H., and Rich, E. E. (eds.), "The Cambridge Economic History of Europe," IV, 145
 Wilson, H. E., and Başgöz, İhan, "Educational Problems in Turkey, 1920-1940," 1054
 Wilson, Woodrow: Bragdon, "Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years," 754; Levin, "Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution," 755; Link *et al.* (eds.), "The Papers of Woodrow Wilson," IV, 753
 "Wilson, James, The Works of," ed. by McCloskey, 1710
 Winant, J. G. *See* Bellush, Bernard
 Windell, G. G. (R), 643
 Winus, G. D. (R), 263
 Winkler, H. R. (R), 621
 Winks, R. W. (R), 777, 1751
 Winslow, O. E., "John Eliot," 1351
 Winther, O. O. (R), 293, 744
 "Wirth, Die Politik der Kabinette, 1921/22," by Laubach, 1316
 "Wisconsin, The Decline of the Progressive Movement in, 1890-1920," by Margulies, 1384
 Wishy, Bernard, "The Child and the Republic," 724
 Wiśniewski, Ernest. *See* Rawski, Tadeusz
 "Wissenschaft in kommunistischen Ländern," ed. by Geyer, 1609
 Wister, Owen. *See* White, G. E.
 Wittke, Carl (R), 1367
 Wohl, A. S. (R), 177
 "Wojna Wyzwolenia Narodu Polskiego w Latach 1939-1945," I and II, by Rawski *et al.*, ed. by Wiśniewski, 1327
 Wolf, Herbert. *See* Butte, Heinrich
 Wolf, J. B., "Louis XIV," 183; (R), 947
 Wolfe, Martin (R), 938
 Wolff, Philippe (under the direction), "Histoire du Languedoc," 624
 Wolpert, Stanley (R), 694

- Wood, Bryce, and Diégues Júnior, Manuel (eds.), "Social Science in Latin America," 338; (R), 1120
- Wood, C. T. (R), 145
- Wood, Donald, "Trinidad in Transition," 1395
- Wood, G. S. (R), 1078
- Wood, S. B., "Constitutional Politics in the Progressive Era," 320
- Woodcock, George, and Avakumovic, Ivan, "The Doukhobors," 1753
- Woodfill, W. L. (R), 1624
- Woodhouse, C. M., "A Short History of Modern Greece," 1326
- Woodman, H. D., "King Cotton & His Retainers," 280
- Woodward, C. V. (ed.), "The Comparative Approach to American History," 1071
- Woodward, Llewellyn, "Great Britain and the War of 1914-1918," 179; (R), 620
- Woody, K. M. (R), 1601
- Woolf, S. J. *See* Marongiu, Antonio
- Woolman, D. S., "Rebels in the Rif," 1678
- Worcester, D. E., lists of articles, 414-19, 842-45, 1175-77, 1453-56
- World War I: Farrar-Hockley, "Death of an Army," 1002; Hudson, "Hostile Skies," 757; Pedroncini, "Les mutineries de 1917," 189; Selig, "Paul Nikolaus Cossmann und die Süddeutschen Monatshefte von 1914-1918," 204; Vigezzi, "L'Italia di fronte alla prima guerra mondiale," I, 218; Woodward, "Great Britain and the War of 1914-1918," 179
- World War II: Beaufre, "1940," tr. by Flower, 633; Bychkov, "Partizanskoe Dvizhenie v Gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voyny, 1941-1945 (Kratkii Ocherk)," 677; Chadwin, "The Hawks of World War II," 1748; Foot, "SOE in France," 1005; Kimche, "The Unfought Battle," 588; Lifton, "Death in Life," 1063; MacArthur, General, Reports of," I and II, 1116; Macmillan, "The Blast of War, 1939-1945," 622; McSherry, "Stalin, Hitler, and Europe," I, 587; Mayo, "The Ordnance Department," 767; Nekritch, "L'armée rouge assassinée," tr. by Bennigsen, 1618; Petrov, "June 22, 1941," 1618; Plehwe, "Schicksalsstunden in Rom," 1619; Rawski *et al.*, "Wojna Wyzwolenia Narodu Polskiego w Latach 1939-1945," I and II, ed. by Wiśniewski, 1327; Shepperd, "The Italian Campaign, 1943-45," 1587; Ziemke, "Stalingrad to Berlin," 768
- Wray, F. J. (R), 1307
- Wright, A. F. (R), 686
- Wright, Conrad (R), 1077
- Wright, H. M. *See* Chesneaux, Jean
- Wright, J. L., Jr., "William Augustus Bowles," 707
- Wright, M. C. (R), 689
- "Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America," by Gilbert, 749
- Wuorinen, J. H. (deceased), 1766
- "Wyatt, George, Esquire, of Boxley Abbey in the County of Kent, Son and Heir of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, The Papers of," ed. by Loades, 1622
- Wyllie, J. C. (deceased), 1180
- "Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896," by Gould, 1098
- Wythe, George (R), 1396
- Xydis, S. G., "Cyprus," 667; (C), 1485
- Yamauchi, E. M. (R), 1589
- Yaney, G. L. (R), 671
- Yaremko, Michael, "Galicia—Halychyna (A Part of Ukraine)," 221
- "Year Book XII," 1022
- "Years of Opportunity: The League of Nations, 1920-1926," by Dexter, 112
- "Years of the Golden Cockerel: The Last Romanov Tsars, 1814-1917," by Harcave, 1663
- "Years of Transition: *The Dial*, 1912-1920," by Joost, 319
- "Yesterday's Tomorrows: A Historical Survey of Future Societies," by Armytage, 943
- Ylikangas, Heikki, "Suomalaisen Sven Leijonmarckin osuus vuoden 1734 lain naimiskaaren laadinnassa," 1017
- Yorkshire. *See* Smith, R. W.
- Young, A. F. (R), 1719
- Young, C. R., "Hubert Walter, Lord of Canterbury and Lord of England," 1604
- Young, K. T., "Negotiating with the Chinese Communists," 553
- Young, Mary (R), 311, 1074
- Young, Peter (ed.), "The Civil War," 598
- Yü, Ying-shih, "Trade and Expansion in Han China," 248
- "Yukon Territory, 1898-1909, The Politics of the," by Morrison, 1754
- Zaninovich, M. G. (R), 1662
- "Zeitgenössische Frankreich in der Politik Humboldts," by Muhlack, 201
- Ziebur, Gilbert, "Léon Blum et le Parti socialiste, 1872-1934," tr. by Duplex, 632
- Ziemke, E. F., "Stalingrad to Berlin," 768
- Zimmerman, L. M. (R), 106
- Zolberg, A. R. (R), 684
- Zubok, L. I., *et al.* (eds.), "Istoriia Vtorogo Internatsionala," II, 109
- "Zum deutschen Russlandinteresse im 19. Jahrhundert: E. M. Arndt und Varnhagen von Ense," by Wiegand, 152
- "Zur Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung," by Meinecke, ed. by Kessel, 1309
- "Zwingli's Theocracy," by Walton, 210

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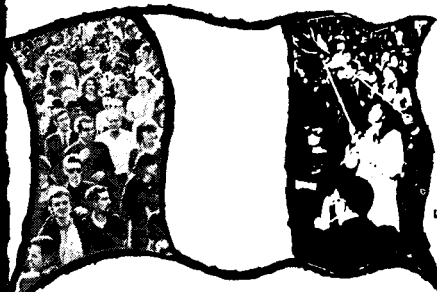
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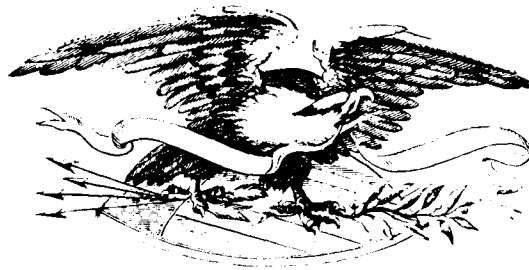
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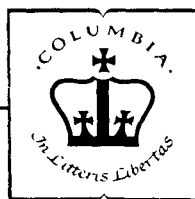
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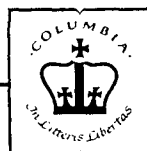
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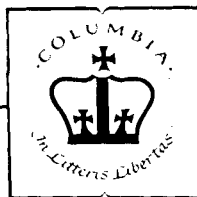
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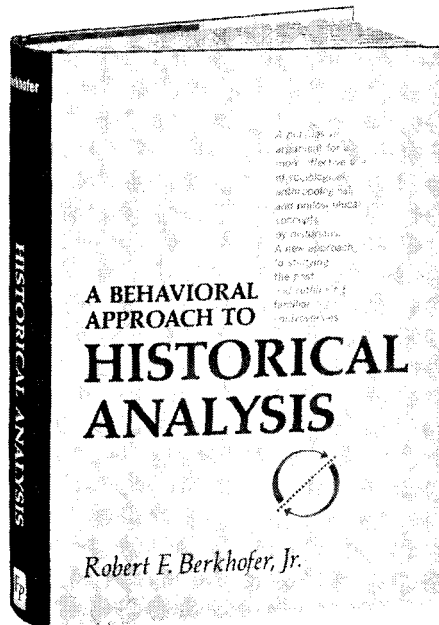
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